

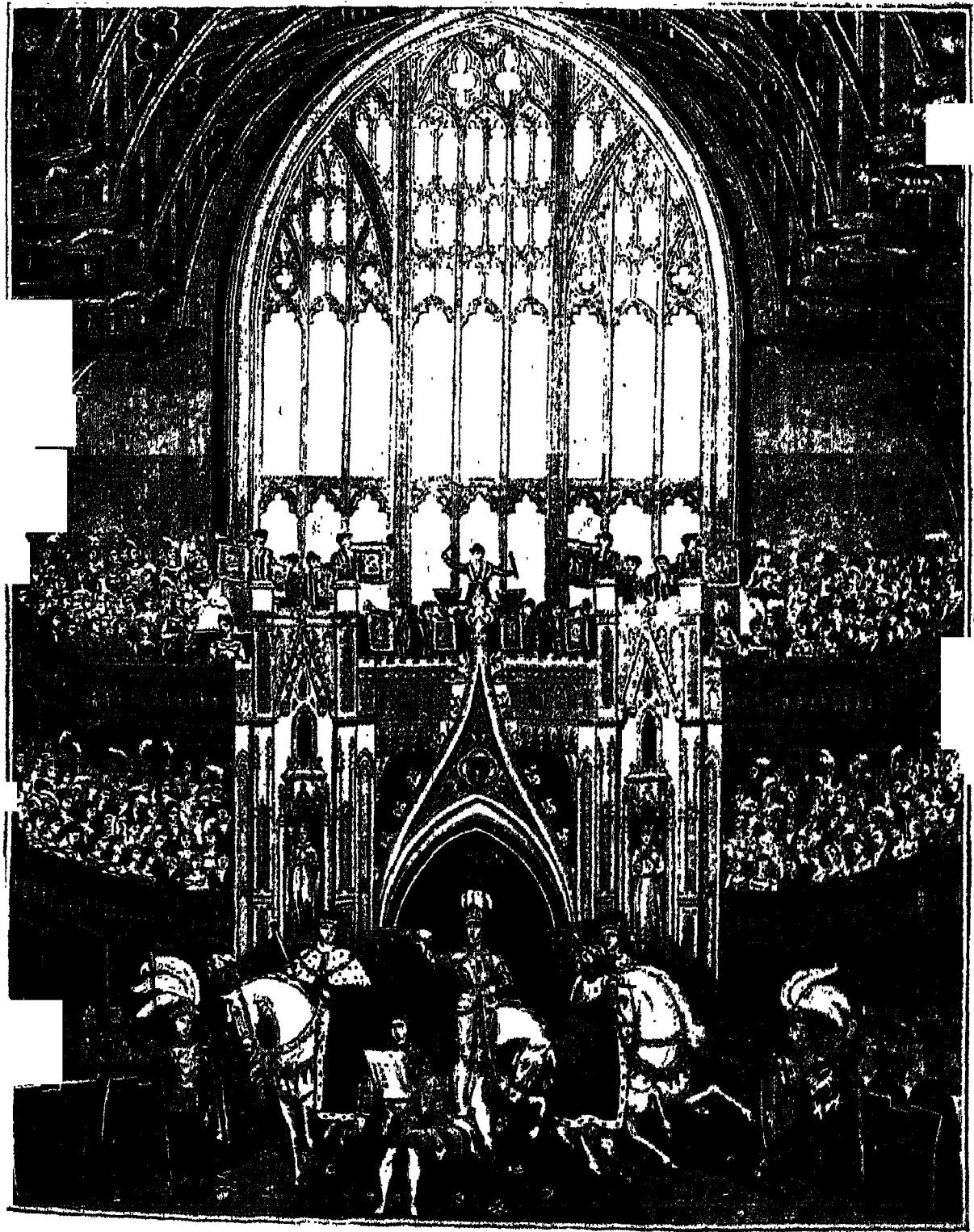
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CORONATION CAVALCADE



AMONG the most colourful and stirring ceremonies connected with bygone Coronations was the entry of the King's Champion into Westminster Hall. In this contemporary representation, Henry Dymoke is about to cast down the gage of battle to the King's enemies on the last occasion of the Challenge at the Coronation of King George IV in 1821. On either side of the Champion are the Duke of Wellington and Lord Howard of Effingham. York Herald is reading the Challenge; while Dymoke's squires bear his lance and target. (See Chapter XIX.)

CORONATION CAVALCADE

THE STORY OF THE
BRITISH CROWN

F. Gordon Roe

ART EDITOR
J. R. Fawcett Thompson

P. R. GAWTHORN, Ltd., 27a Farringdon Street, London, E.C.4.

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Preface

THIS, I hope and trust, is a book for the average reader wishing to know something of the history of our Coronations and their colourful background.

It does not purport to be a technical work. I should prefer to call it a "chatter book," dealing with all manner of picturesque aspects of a most picturesque ceremonial.

The man who could write a complete history of the Coronation in all of its ramifications has yet to be born. Indeed, I might hazard, he will never be born. So vast is the theme in its fulness that nothing short of a liberally volumed encyclopædia could cope with the mass of material.

Wherefore I have endeavoured to select those aspects which most nearly concern the ordinary reader. These I have tried to record very simply, without diverging into the numerous avenues which are properly the province of scholarship.

This desire for simplicity has entailed the treatment of complex matters on the broadest of lines, and, as far as possible, I have endeavoured to avoid controversial issues. There is one point, however, which—if scarcely controversial—I should like to emphasize. During my various visits to the Wakefield Tower, both for the purposes of this book and on previous occasions, I have been struck by the tendency for Crowns of late period to be designed in terms of gems mainly. This creates a rich and impressive effect, but it also tends to eliminate the exceptional charm belonging to work in which the artist's hand is freely apparent. The fact was brought forcibly home to me when, by the kindness of Sir W. Goscombe John, R.A., I was enabled to make a close examination

of original models for the Welsh Insignia, which he designed. I did not discuss the point at issue with Sir Goscombe, nor is he responsible for my opinion, but the gracious fancy and accomplished expression revealed in these Ornaments would have gained nothing æsthetically, had they not been lightly, but heavily, gemmed. I earnestly hope that this may be borne in mind should it ever be necessary to add to the British Regalia.

As to the book itself, my first duty is to record that Michael Wright's superb portrait of *King Charles II*, in St. James's Palace, is illustrated by gracious permission of His Majesty The King. In this and some other connections I am much indebted to the courtesy of the Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Office.

I desire to make acknowledgment to the following for courteous assistance in various details, those whose names are prefixed * having been consulted in respect of illustrations: Mr. C. H. Collins Baker, C.V.O.; Dr. Charles R. Beard, for some valuable indications and suggestions; Officials of the British Museum Reading Room, North Library, Students' Room, and *Department of Coins and Medals; Captain Ronald Coates, F.S.A., for valued suggestions and assistance; Miss M. B. Curran, Librarian and Assistant Secretary, Royal Historical Society; Mr. C. Reginald Grundy, for most helpful aid in locating certain references; *Mr. John Howard; Dr. L. G. Wickham Legg, for generous permission to utilize certain of the texts in his invaluable *English Coronation Records* (Constable & Co., Ltd., 1901), etc.; *the Keeper and Secretary, London Museum; *Mr. J. G. Mann, F.S.A., Keeper, Wallace Collection; Mr. O. F.

Preface

Morshead, D.S.O., M.V.O., Librarian, Windsor Castle; *Mr. Fred Roe, R.I., for his reminiscence of King Edward VII, and other matters; *Mr. Lawrence E. Tanner, M.V.O., F.S.A., Keeper of the Muniments of Westminster Abbey; Mr. C. J. S. Thompson, M.B.E., Ph.D., for kindly help; *the Master of the Tower Armouries, and the Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund, as to Colonel Blood's daggers; Officials of the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, Department of Paintings, and *Department of Textiles; Messrs. Walford Brothers; my Publishers and all who have in any wise helped me, including Mr. J. R. Fawcett Thompson, for his skill and care as Art Editor of this book; and my wife, and Frances, my daughter, for aiding the collation of my gross wad of MS.

Since the foregoing paragraph was set, I have to add with no less gratitude the names of *the Lord Amherst of Hackney; Hon. George Bellew, M.V.O., Somerset Herald; *Baron Rudolf Cederström, Director of the Livrustkammaren, Stockholm; *Mr. Henry M. Hake, C.B.E., Director of the National Portrait Gallery, London;

and *Mr. Georg Svensson, Editor of the *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, Stockholm.

Considerably over 100 printed and other sources have been consulted, some of which are specified in the text and *Select Bibliography*. To one and all, I likewise render acknowledgment, even if—as in some cases—it be merely for the verification of details with which I have long been familiar.

Purists will note that I have rendered certain Anglo-Saxon and other names in the popular fashion. It would, I felt, be too troublesome for an average person to have to recognize Ethelred in "Athelred"; Edwy in the more correct but less familiar-looking "Hadwig"; or to identify "Halgith" with that Queen Edith whose name was for so long associated with one of the Crowns. All the same, I have to admit some departures from rule. Almost everyone now gives Cnut for "Canute" (which suggests a dissyllable); but I also strongly prefer the honest Bullen to the affected "Boleyn," and the good Scots Stewart (which tells its own tale) to the Frenchified "Stuart." Such may be inconsistencies, but they are at least purposeful.

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F. GORDON ROE

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Coronation Cavalcade

CHAPTER I

Coronation Cavalcade

No ceremonial event has a profounder appeal to the populace than the crowning of a British monarch. Enrapt with the accumulated traditions of at least twelve hundred years, it becomes at once an orgasm of the national sentiment and the expression of a mystic ideal. Side by side with the excitement and rejoicing, with the natural interest in the "finest show on earth," is the fervent hope of peace, prosperity and sure guidance under the blessing of High Heaven. Once more a Leader of his People is enthroned in the seat of his ancestors; once more, with solemn rite, is a King elected, anointed, crowned with every circumstance of pomp and grandeur.

No idle pageant, this; no mere display for show's sake. Not a single incident but has its historical or symbolic reference. For once in a way the humblest onlooker is in touch with the present, past and future of the State. Dimly, maybe, but none the less truly, he feels the stirring of a mighty purpose. To him old kings and leaders, lapsed in their massy tombs, assume a new significance. He sees them, not as names and dates, or so many lines of type in a history book, but as personalities, almost all of whom had undergone like elevation.

The very kinship of the vital ceremonies with those of antiquity reminds the onlooker

of our heritage—reminds him that the nations stand a-tilt at the crowning of our monarchs. And the variations of detail, brought about through centuries of usage, are in themselves a symbol of unhurried progress.

With all this is there mingled hope for the national future. The King forever; long live the King! Rising like the phoenix from its ashes, the Monarchy goes on. Purged long ago of its hatreds, fears and internecine conflicts, it survives—a stately symbol. Still powerful for the commonweal, it typifies the aims and aspirations of its lieges in a dual harmony. At once the leader and the sympathizer—the *dux et comes* of the national life—the King unites in himself the principle of authority and an expression of the national outlook and ideals.

The King both leads and serves; he heads the van and rides in the ranks—a stately paradox. Both human and "set apart" by virtue of his high office, he is a dual, but inseparable, personality.

We talk easily of a "crowned republic," but that is merely a fashion of speaking. The King is not a president who has been crowned; the positions are in nowise comparable. We do not take at all readily to the conception of a State president—or an equivalent officer—because, to put it bluntly, he would be simply "one of us." To put it still more bluntly, he would be "no better."

Coronation Cavalcade



Medals have been struck to commemorate English coronations since the time of King Edward VI (top). Below are an impressive design by Nicholas Briot in 1626 for Charles I (second from top), and the medal for the coronation of King Charles II at Scone, in 1651 (third from top). King George III's (in base) is by J. Croker, 1727.

than us, except by virtue of his elective position.

Our national temperament inclines us to compromise. Our conception of a king is of a man such as ourselves, but coming of a race which, in its various branches, has "grown into" the nation's history. He is thus, in some sense, already set apart, but to place the matter beyond dispute, we elect, anoint, and crown him king. We make him the focus of ceremonies too sacred to be applied to any save a man of a special family. And thereby we assert not only his sovereign nature, but our ancient continuity of realm and purpose.

Some such high qualities as those described are characteristic of all successful, and even worthy, monarchs. But with the help of our later sovereigns we have been enabled to reduce to a system what would otherwise be a matter of personal qualities and tact. As a result of this our existing conception of monarchy is subtly different from any other. But that it is so is the fruit of long stages of evolution, punctuated by struggles and disasters, and buttressed by our keen sense of the value of tradition. Often when we have seemed to take a revolutionary step, we have actually been reasserting some principle so old as to have passed from common memory.

That revolution which banished James II and so, in the long run, brought the House of Hanover to the throne, was no more than an appeal to the age-old custom of picking our sovereigns from whatever branch of the family we chose. But note this: we did not wander from the royal stock.

Once, and once only, in the history of a united England have we essayed a different system. The bloody Civil War between the Crown and Parliament resulted in the murder of King Charles and the erection of a Commonwealth. But at the height of Cromwell's power, our national sense of tradition kept him short of a crown. The "brewer of Huntingdon" was "one of us"; we might revive the ancient title of Lord Protector for him; we might tolerate his

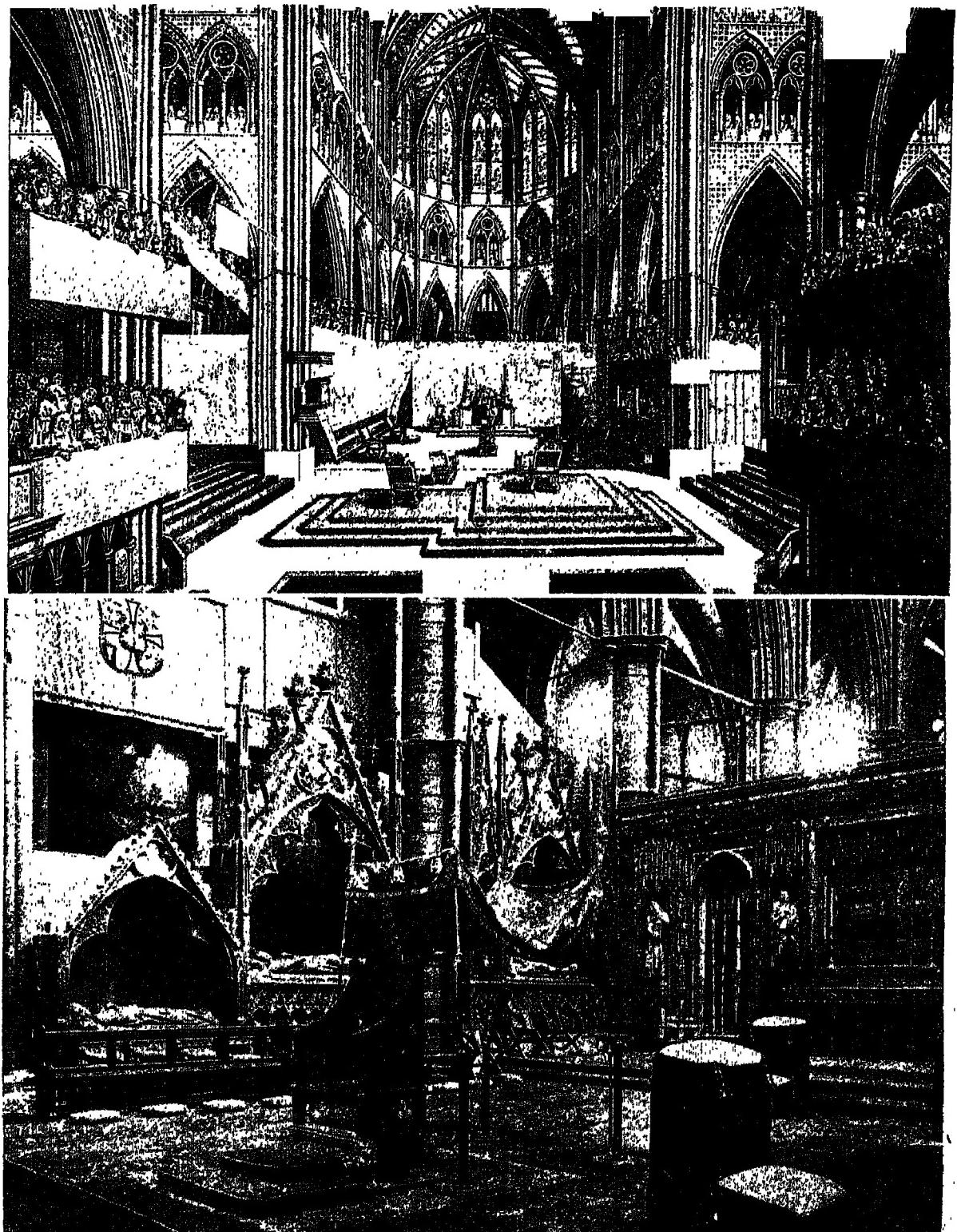


Photo: W. R. Mansell.

Westminster Abbey arrayed for the Coronations of King George V, 1911, and King James II, 1685. In the reproduction from S. Moore's engraving in Sandford's famous *History of the Coronation of King James II* (top), the "Theatre" (or platform) with its Thrones may be seen in the centre foreground. Behind St. Edward's Chair, in the Scutarium (bottom), is the Canopy.

Coronation Cavalcade

civil enthronement in the Coronation Chair; but to set him apart in the sacred guise of a monarch was out of the question. And Cromwell knew very well that to attempt anything of the sort would entail his collapse.

Had Cromwell been a Prince of the Blood, would his system have lasted? The speculation is not uninteresting, but need not be

king after king passes before us like the procession of ghosts in *Macbeth*. Saxons, Danes, Normans, "Plantagenets," Tudors; then Stewarts, and Stewarts with an Orange complexion; and so, through Hanover, to the Reigning House of to-day. And in almost every case these monarchs have been elected, anointed and crowned in a manner



Before a Coronation, the Regalia is transferred from the Tower of London, where it is normally housed, to the Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey, thus recalling ancient days when the Sacred Ornaments were kept at Westminster. The Regalia Procession is here seen leaving the Jerusalem Chamber for the Coronation of King George V on June 22, 1911.

gone into here. The fact remains that such descent from ancient Welsh princelings as could be worked out—or invented—for him in nowise sufficed, and that his death-knell heralded also that of the Commonwealth. Anarchy threatened, and in less than twelve years from doing away with our monarchy we gladly welcomed it back again.

On the most practical grounds we had assured ourselves that, whatever its faults, monarchy was the system for us. And so, greatly purified since then, it still remains.

Looking back at the pageant of history,

which links the dim past with the noontide of the present.

In glittering pomp and with ancient ceremonial the Monarch comes into his own. Attended by his officers of state, in the midst of the lords spiritual and temporal, of his knights, and his humbler lieges, The King receives consecration at the hands of the Church and is touched on the brow with the "Crown of St. Edward."

Never again in his life shall he wear it, but in that exalted moment he joins the great cavalcade of the ages.

CHAPTER II

The Succession of Kings (i)

HOW do our kings succeed to the throne, and what are the principles involved? We have grown so accustomed to one monarch following another without let or hindrance that the dynastic troubles of the past appear almost fantastic.

Yet, automatic as, for the most part, the system of succession has become, it would puzzle many a commoner to define the process in words.

In this chapter it is not intended to embark on a technical discussion. That would be lengthy and wearisome, save to the scholarly minded. But some rough indication of how the present system of succession has arisen must be given for the sake of completeness.

The House of Windsor derives its family claim to the throne from the Stewarts. The Stewarts—or Stuarts, if you prefer the Frenchified spelling—derived theirs from the Tudors, and thence back to the “Plantagenets” and Normans, who were linked with the Royal House of Cerdic.

This last takes its name from the semi-(or wholly) mythical Cerdic who reputedly landed in England in

A.D. 495. He and his son Cyntic are the traditional founders of the kingdom of Wessex. England was not then one nation, nor did it become so until many centuries later.

The first real step towards the amalgamation of the various realms in England took place in the time of Egbert, King of Wessex, who died in 839. He has been called the first King of all England, but the claim is erroneous. What he actually did was to prove the paramountcy of Wessex, and, as *Bretwalda*, to secure a fairly general recognition of his overlordship of the other kings.

This step, if not constituting a temporal kingship of all England (as we should now understand it), laid the foundations of a unified monarchy. With Egbert's great-grandson, Edward the Elder, this became a positive fact. This first of our kings Edward (whose father was Alfred the Great) died in 924, and from him King George VI is directly descended.

The paramountcy of Wessex naturally advanced the position of its kings as a royal family of outstanding importance. In Anglo-Saxon times succession to the



Courtesy of the British Museum.

Though making no pretensions to authentic portraiture, the heads on the coinage of the Anglo-Saxon and Danish Kings are not without artistic merit. Here are silver pennies of (left to right) Egbert, Ethelwulf, Alfred, Cnut and Edward the Confessor.

Coronation Cavalcade

throne was different from what it is now, and queens-regnant (to whom we have since become accustomed in the normal succession) were almost or wholly unknown to them. The Saxon system involved a combination of the elective and hereditary principles, under which kings were chosen by the Witan from "certain qualified families." In a general sort of way, kings, both Saxon and Danish, were regarded as the offspring of the Norse god Woden, from whom many of them claimed a descent in fact. Thus, though primogeniture was not ignored, it did not follow that the crown would pass from father to son, and so downwards. One brother might be preferred to another, an uncle to his nephew, and so forth. Nor was, at any rate in fact, illegitimate birth necessarily a bar to the throne. A glance at the chart pedigree in Chapter XXVIII will give some impression of the devolution of the crown in the manner described.

The system had its advantages. In theory, though not always in practice, it implied that the most worthy and suitable member of the house would ascend the throne; and that the nation would thus have the king that it wanted, and who was best qualified to lead it. There was, for instance, no necessity for an imbecile prince to reign as by right of birth. And each inauguration of a king embodied a definite compact between the monarch and his people: a compact of a severely practical, as well as a mystical, kind.

On the reverse of the medal is the obvious fact that the system opened the door to various abuses. A sufficiently powerful prince, or a faction desirous of securing its aims by means of a figure-head, could do much to coerce the elective method in their favour. Moreover, the uncertainty attending successions was provocative of threats of disturbance and war.

This situation was further complicated by the Danish invasions, and the establishment of the Danelaw in those parts of England where the Saxon kings' writ did

not run. Even so, the elective principle had its uses, and under the most unfavourable circumstances. It is, for instance, significant that though the Danish conqueror, Sweyn Forkbeard, was ruler *de facto* of large tracts of England, he was possibly never formally chosen as king by the Witan. They might have done so had not Sweyn been a pagan idolater; and the Vikings had committed abominable excesses on the Church and the faithful. "From the fury of the Northmen, Good Lord deliver us," was a line in the Litany pregnant with meaning.

On the other hand, Sweyn's son Cnut, a good churchman, actually ascended the throne. To consolidate his position, he married the widow of his Saxon opponent, Æthelred the Redless, thus definitely allying himself to the House of Cerdic. She, by the way, was Emma, daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy—one of the pre-Conquest connections between England and the Norman line which was later to rule here.

Note that I speak of Æthelred *the Redless*, instead of "the Unready," after the manner of the primers. "Unready" is a misunderstanding. When an Anglo-Saxon spoke of Æthelred *Unrede*, he was making a play upon words. What was meant was Æthelred without *rede*, or devoid of counsel. But to resume:

After Cnut's death, the Witan elected his son Harold (I) "Harefoot," whose mother was a Mercian lady. Within five years his half-brother, Harthacnut (son of Cnut by Emma of Normandy), became king. His reign was even shorter. Just under two years later Harthacnut fell dead at his drink in the house at Lambeth of Osgod Clapa—whose name is still preserved in the suburb of Clapham—whereupon the Witan restored the ancient House of Cerdic.

This was done in the person of Edward the Confessor, whose qualifications for saintliness included a state of wedded celibacy. Like many of his predecessors, Edward was crowned at Winchester, on

The Succession of Kings

Easter Day, 1043; but it was due to him that the scene of our coronations was eventually changed to Westminster Abbey.

There had been a church at Westminster from the 7th or 8th century. There is a 12th-century legend that St. Peter appeared in person to consecrate it, thereby anticipating Mellitus, the first Bishop of London, who was to have done the same office on the following day. Not long after his accession Edward the Confessor commenced rebuilding the church on a much larger scale, though not so extensively as later benefactors. The aspiring Gothic fane of to-day is largely the work of Henry III with subsequent additions.

Edward held his foundation at Westminster in the deepest regard, and shortly

before his death applied to the Pope to sanction the Abbey Church as the place where the future sovereigns of England

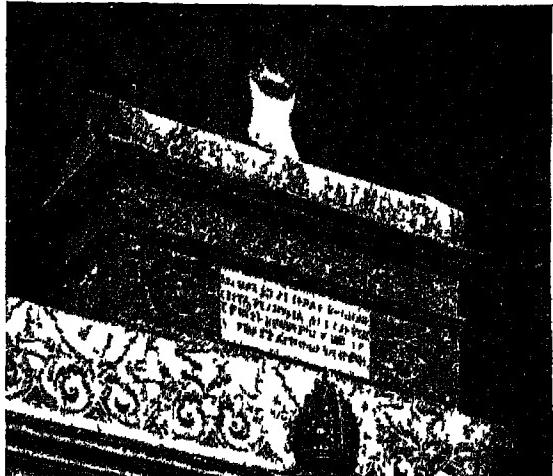


Photo: W. F. Mansell

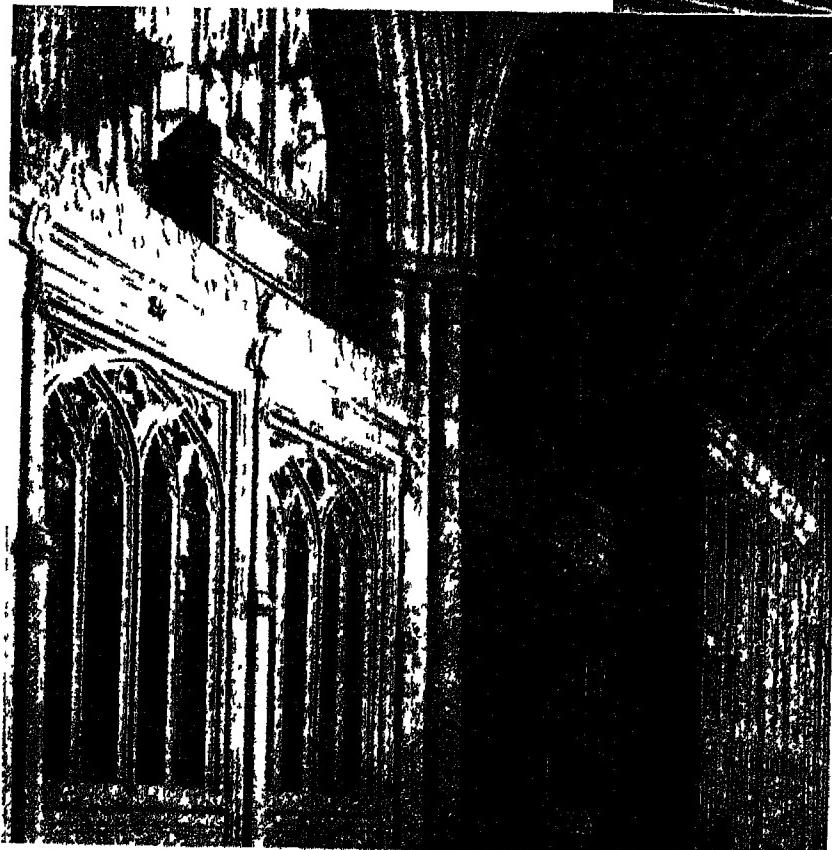


Photo: H. W. Salomon & Son.

Six relic chests, dating from the 16th and 17th centuries, surmount the side-screens of the choir in Winchester Cathedral. They contain bones reputed to be those of Egbert, Ethelwulf, Edmund I, Edred and other early Kings and prelates. One chest made in 1661 (top) is said to enshrine the remains of Cnut and his consort, Emma, Rufus and two bishops, sacrilegiously scattered by the Parliamentarians in 1642.

should be inaugurated.* He died in 1066, and was buried in the Church, where his body now rests in the shrine raised for it by Henry III. But with the original burial ceremony, England entered upon one of the most troubled periods of her history.

Had the law of primogeniture obtained, the obvious heir to the throne would have been Edgar the Atheling, grandson of the Confessor's gallant eldest brother, Edmund Ironside. But the

* It has been claimed that Edmund Ironside, Cnut, and Harold I and II were crowned at Westminster, but all these are doubtful cases. Edmund Ironside was installed at Kingston-on-Thames on the extant Kings' Stone.

Coronation Cavalcade

Atheling was far too young to be thought of as a leader in unsettled times, so the Witan appointed Harold, son of the powerful Earl Godwin. Harold was only of royal birth in that his mother was a cousin of Cnut; but his sister Edith had been married to Edward the Confessor in every sense save the natural one. Harold was therefore the late king's brother-in-law. Nowadays the position of "in-laws" in such matters differs considerably from what obtained—or could be held to obtain—in those times, and for a long while afterwards. It was the fact of connexion which counted.

In the case of Harold, the legally indisputable fact that he was Edward the Confessor's brother-in-law was sufficient to reckon him as a member, by alliance, of the House of Cerdic, while his kinship with the Danish kings was also of importance. Moreover, he had virtually ruled the country in Edward's name, and as Harold was the most suitable Saxon leader to hand at the moment, his election was swiftly decided upon. Delay would have been dangerous. Already the shadow of Normandy was looming dark over England.

Saxon though he was, Edward the Confessor was by education and proclivity a Norman. In a quite unwarrantable manner he promised his kingdom to William of Normandy; and Harold, while at William's court, had been tricked into swearing an oath on some sacred relics that he would respect this arbitrary assignment of power.

Quite apart from the detail that an oath so extracted was of dubious validity, Harold had clearly no more right than Edward to "dispose" of the crown in this way. The decision lay with the Witan, whose duty it would be to elect the next king according to ancient law and custom.

Thus, forswn or not, Harold was validly elected to the throne, and validly anointed and crowned—either at Westminster or St. Paul's. Saxons did not believe that William of Normandy would meekly assent to this abrogation of his heartfelt desire. An invasion, they considered, was likely; but they felt that in Harold they had a leader

of their own race who was entirely competent to deal with Norman pretensions.

And so Harold very neatly was. Had it not been for the inroad by Tostig and Harold Hardrada, the history of England might have been written very differently. Harold's race to Stamford, his victory over the raiders, and his forced march south to cope with the Norman invasion, form one of the outstanding feats of our military history. How near the Saxon hero came to bringing off a "right and left," and completely crushing the whole of his enemies has been told time out of mind. But it was not to be.

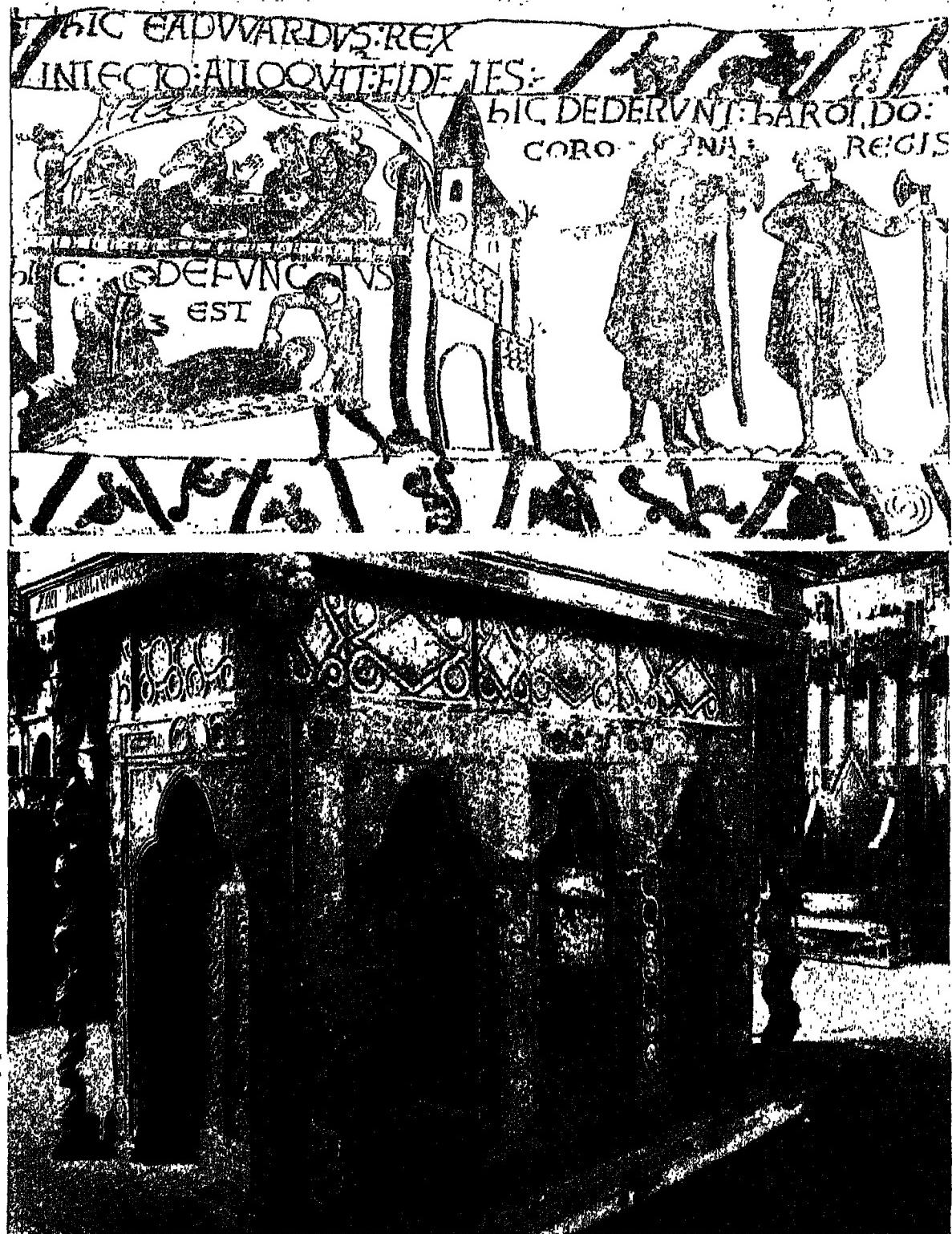
There is a sad old story of how the "last of the English," on his race south to Senlac, prostrated himself before the Rood in the Church of Waltham Holy Cross, and prayed that final victory might rest with his arms. But, says tradition, the Sacred Figure sorrowfully shook its head.

Such portents may hap at times of great stress; who knows? Harold fell in the ring of those murderous axes that came so near to cutting the Norman hosts to gobbets.

When the terrible truth filtered through, the Witan hastily chose Edgar the Atheling as king. But possession is nine points of the law, and William's hold on the country was too powerful to be ignored. Edgar made a hasty submission, and on Christmas Day, 1066, William the Conqueror was crowned King of England in Westminster Abbey.

This solemn occasion proved a disaster, for the acclamation of the king was misunderstood by the Norman soldiery. In this case the election was performed twice, first by the Saxon prelate, and next by the Norman, the Bishop of Coutances. The Saxon oath was administered, and when the crown was placed on William's head the populace burst into the traditional shouts of rejoicing.

Hearing this clamour, the Norman soldiers mistook it for the noise of a riot, and a scene of fire and bloodshed ensued, which was only stayed by the emergence of the king



The death and last resting-place of Edward the Confessor, at whose instigation English kings have been crowned in Westminster Abbey. His shrine at Westminster, the north side of which is here seen, was erected by King Henry III, and completed in 1260; it was the work of Peter, a Roman citizen of the Cosmati family. On the left of the section of the famous Bayeux Tapestry (top) the King's death is portrayed; on the right, the crown is given to Harold.

Photos: W. F. Mansell and (top) "X."

Coronation Cavalcade

in his robes of state. The ceremony, however, was completed in the church, all but empty, save for the trembling conqueror and a few ecclesiastics.

William the Conqueror—as William I is most politely nicknamed by historians—might harry his rebellious subjects, but he saw the importance of conforming with the ancient customs pertaining to their kings. In 1068 he was crowned for the second time at Winchester, with Matilda, his consort,

who, as it happened, could show a descent from a daughter of Alfred the Great. Moreover, he adhered to the old Saxon custom of appearing solemnly crowned on the three great feasts, every year that he was in England: Easter at Winchester; Pentecost at Westminster; and Christmas at Gloucester.

William the Conqueror's accession is important for more than one reason. That which concerns us at the moment is that his



Photo: "X."

The Coronation of King Harold II, as depicted in the Bayeux Tapestry. Now preserved in the Old Archbishop's Palace at Bayeux, the complete tapestry measures 230 feet 9 inches long by 19½ inches wide and contains over 620 human figures and 760 animals.

The Succession of Kings



Photo: W. F. Mansell.

Worked within living memory of the events represented therein, the Bayeux Tapestry forms an invaluable record of the Norman Conquest. William the Conqueror (as Duke) is here shown receiving messengers.

claim was based on the principle that a monarch could dispose of his kingdom by his own motion. The idea was not new, even in England, but there it was contrary to established law and tradition. More than once since his time there has been a conflict between the conception of the kingdom as personal property and the elective principle as anciently practised. Despite all assaults, the elective system was to survive and, as the "Recognition," still forms an integral part of our Coronation service.

When William the Conqueror lay a-dying, he preferred not his eldest, but his second surviving son for the crown. This, of course, was William the Red, whom we follow the historical and charter latinists in styling "Rufus." In his compatriot's ordi-

nary speech he was known as *le roux*. Had the law of primogeniture been established, he would have been a usurper; but to the English, accustomed to seeing this or that member of a family ascend the throne, there was nothing untoward in a younger son coming to the regal power.

In any case they had very little voice in the matter. The Normans had gained a stranglehold on the country; besides which, Red William had promptly taken affectionate charge of the royal treasury at Winchester.

But there was yet another aspect of the case: the nation had no native prince whom they might satisfactorily advance, whereas *Rufus* could show a descent through his mother from Alfred the Great. Yet again, the event tended once more to give England

Coronation Cavalcade

a separate existence from Normandy, so that, on the whole, the accession was received with plaudits.

The most disappointed person was scarcely *Rufus's* eldest brother, Robert "Curthose," Duke of Normandy, as he was of indolent temper; but he had his supporters, and William had to settle their hash by resort to arms. I shall revert to this incident later; meanwhile it is important to note that William's success was a great deal due to the fact that the English *recognized* him as their monarch.

Such children as the Red King had were hopelessly illegitimate, and after his death by an arrow in the New Forest the crown devolved on his next brother, Henry I, which Henry "Beaumont" had married the daughter of Malcolm "Canmore," King of Scots, by St. Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling. Through this match a continuity with the House of Cerdic was placed beyond any dispute.

Now Henry's only son, William, was drowned in the wreck of the *Blanche Nef*, and on the king's death the country was thrown into confusion between the claims of his daughter Matilda, and his nephew, Stephen of Blois, who had married a granddaughter of Malcolm "Canmore" (*Caennmor*). After bloody fighting, an agreement was reached that Stephen should be king for life, but that Matilda's son, Henry II, should succeed him.

Henry's father was Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, and the new "House" is known by that title. The later and more picturesque name of "Plantagenet" carries with it an unrivalled suggestion of ancient blue blood and nobility. At the same time it should be remembered that not until near the close of the Angevin dynasty was this label adopted. Then, and partly to provide a surname for an illegitimate son, the badge of the *planta genista* was raked up and "Plantagenet" coined from it. Any idea that the "Plantagenet" kings habitually used it in the same manner that Mr. Smith does his honourable appellation is as wrong as can be.

To obviate any chance of an *interregnum* occurring after his death--this old matter of the *interregnum* between the death of one king and the coronation of the next will be touched upon in a later chapter--Henry II had his eldest son crowned as *Rex Gallicus* in his own lifetime. But the younger Henry died childless before coming to the throne, and his next brother succeeded as Richard I.

In strict primogeniture the "Lion Heart" would have been followed by his young nephew, Arthur of Brittany; but as Arthur was still in his early teens, Richard's youngest brother, John, had no difficulty in obtaining recognition as King. A glance at the chart pedigree in Chapter XVIII will readily explain the family position.

But boy that he was, Arthur was a danger while alive, and his cause as Lord of the Angevin lands was advanced by Philip of France. This spelled Arthur's death, for John caught and slew him in 1203, thus putting him out of the running in a manner foreshadowing Richard III's assassination of the "Princes in the Tower" at a later date.

However, the idea of a strictly ordered succession--a convenient system when properly practised--was growing. But the troubles recommenced with the fall of Richard of Bordeaux, leading to events which culminated in the Wars of the Roses.

Edward III left a host of descendants, this and that branch contending that they and they alone possessed priority of succession. And as force of arms needs to be backed by some sort of argument, the embittered wrangling between the opposing factions provided an excellent excuse.

The nation itself was divided in its views on the crux. Besides which, a great many ordinary people did not bother themselves about it at all. The Wars of the Roses were an affair of the nobles, and in some ways the conflict was rather exclusive. Unless the average man was directly affected by it, by military service or the incidentals of warfare,

The Succession of Kings



King Edward IV withheld by ecclesiastics from pursuing Lancastrian fugitives into a church. A vigorous impression of the local havoc wrought in the dynastic struggles between the rival Houses of York and Lancaster and of the power of the Church in the 15th century.

(From the painting by Richard Burchett)

it was not an impossibility to jog along quietly in various parts of the country with no more than the vaguest idea that there might be a war on. Of course, if one lived in a town like St. Albans, and had one's house burnt (more or less impartially) over one's head, the outlook might tend to be biased.

It was directly due to the slaughter of the nobles in this dynastic vendetta at the country's expense that a great number of our ancient titles ceased to exist. Partly as a result of the clearance, many "new men" arose to high honours under the Tudors.

CHAPTER III

The Succession of Kings (ii)

FROM a dynastic viewpoint, and as apart from their successful appeal to arms at Bosworth, the claim of the Tudors presents several interesting angles. Henry of Richmond, whom we know as Henry VII, married Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, and sister of the murdered boy princes. She stood, on all counts, very much nearer to the throne than her husband. Yet though dynastically, and as apart from the actual possession of power and its recognition by the folk of the realm, an important claim of the Tudors rested in Elizabeth of York, her position remained that of queen-consort.

Henry's personal family claim was based on two principal details: his descent from John of Gaunt through the Beauforts, and the fact that his grandmother had also been the widow of Henry V. Dynastically considered, the Beauforts' descent was by no means sound. They came from John of Gaunt's third matrimonial venture, with Katherine Swinford; or rather, they hailed from before it, as the children of the match were actually born out of wedlock. The line was, however, legitimated for all purposes saving succession to the Crown. This awkward detail had to be camouflaged and winked at; but the fact that the rite of election, or "Recognition," continued to be practised, at any rate formally, at coronations, remained as a strong saving grace.

Personally, I do not agree with such writers as declare that Henry VII's second personal family claim was no claim at all. According to our own views on the matter, it would amount to little more than a fiction;

but the standards of the 15th century are not to be judged by those of the 20th. Thus, when Henry's handsome Welsh grandfather fell captivally into the lap of Katherine of Valois—one of the historic occasions on which a dance led to a marriage—the upshot of the amorous business was to become much more serious than a merely romantic encounter.

To put the case bluntly: Owen Tudor wedded the widow of Henry V: a queen-consort of England. Owen Tudor's son by her was, therefore, cast in the same matrix as Henry VI, who was king of both England and France. Moreover, the said queen's father was Charles VI of France, which realm, by now, the English monarchy had long claimed to possess. Again, there is no reason to doubt that the mediaeval mind regarded the position of rewedded mothers in another way from what we do. The first sire influenced the rest of the strain. In which case other descendants of Henry V's wife might be expected to possess rather more than a vague affinity with the hero of Agincourt. As a point of view, it may smack of grossness to us, but we cannot be held responsible for our ancestors' outlook. In the 15th century such a claim as this would possess strong contributory, if not positive, evidence of Henry VII's essential regality.

For one thing, the people were accustomed to the idea of the assumption of titles by men who had married the widows of previous holders. Various instances of such assumptions of titles, *de jure uxoris*—and their official recognition—are on record.

The Succession of Kings

And it was not until Elizabeth discountenanced a custom which, in some cases, was open to scandalous abuse that this irregular, if not wholly unnatural, procedure was invalidated. As a custom it was certainly ancient, and based on the practical assumption that the man, as his wife's husband, became *ipso facto* the lord.

It by no means followed that such men were in any wise akin either to their wives or to the nobles whose shoes they had matrimonially and otherwise occupied. Henry VII's position was a good deal stronger than this; and quite certainly stronger than the rather vague family claims which constituted Harold's sole dynastic pretensions to the throne.

Whatever the actual cause, the mere fact that Henry VII was not king by right of seniority, shows that a certain elasticity still governed the method of appointing a ruler. Under the "Plantagenets" the idea of an ordered succession had been greatly strengthened in England. In fact, the Wars of the Roses had been partly waged on different conceptions as to how such a theory should work in practice. Nevertheless, the old way of doing things was far from dead. Before the victorious Edward IV came to his coronation, he was chosen and elected king by a great council of the favourable lords, and also by acclamation of the populace assembled.

With the Tudors firmly in the saddle, the idea of a despotic monarchy attained, perhaps, as high as it has ever done in England. Henry VIII's and Edward VI's attempts to settle the succession to their own satisfaction produced a situation which was to cast the country into confusion.

Due largely to this was the insurrection by which John

Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, placed Lady Jane Grey on the throne. This short-lived "reign" of nine days is treated as a mere incident, but at the time it was serious enough. Popular sympathy, however, was with Mary Tudor, Henry VIII's elder daughter. This dour if well-intentioned princess speedily ousted "Jane the Quene," who in due course went to the block. That she did so was largely because of Wyatt's rebellion. The irony of the situation is that of all the persons dragged into this bloody affair none was less willing or interested than Jane herself: Jane who,

if her portrait does not belie her, united a learnedness well beyond the average with a positive feminine charm.

Yet, though the Tudor conception of rulership was clearly despotic, it had to put up with numerous modifications from Parliament. And when the aged Queen Elizabeth died, it called to the throne the very line which had been omitted



National Portrait Gallery, London.
King Henry VII, by an unknown painter. This contemporary portrait of the first of the Tudor monarchs shows remarkable insight into character: it is usually assigned to the Flemish School, but has also been claimed for the English.

Coronation Cavalcade

from the succession under the will of Henry VIII.

This was the Royal House of Stewart, descended through Mary, Queen of Scots, from King Hal's elder sister. As we have



King Henry VIII in his State Robes and Crown. Detail from the engraving by Baron after the Holbein painting of the King presenting their Charter to the Barber-Surgeons, now in the Hall of the Company.

seen, centuries earlier Henry I had married Edith, daughter of Malcolm "Canmore" by St. Margaret, sister of Edgar the Atheling. Thus James VI of Scotland and I of England was not the first monarch with Scottish blood in his veins to ascend the latter throne.

But James I was all Scot paternally and,

moreover, the Stewarts were every whit as despotic in their basic ideas as any of their Tudor or "Plantagenet" forebears. Their belief in the Divine Right of Kings was such as to work their eventual downfall, for they lacked the force of a "Bluff King Hal" or a "Great Eliza"—and not even those masterful monarchs could have all their own way in such matters. Never in England have we regarded the Divine Right of Kings as a Hapsburg or a Bourbon would understand it. Such runs counter to our ancient tradition, our custom, and national temperament. And though the maintenance of our individuality affords no excuse for the barbarous murder of Charles I, it cannot be disguised that the situation was provoked by a dynastic attempt to impose an alien system of belief.

That brought about the Commonwealth and, later, the entire exclusion of the Stewart legitimist line. The Revolution of 1688-89 was in essence an assertion of the old elective principle, and involved a situation which, *mutatis mutandis*, might have obtained in Anglo-Saxon days.

James II, renowned no less for his ultramontanism than for the exceeding plainness of his ladies, and (be it stated in fairness) for founding the modern British Navy, was forced to abdicate. His heir, the Chevalier St. George, was excluded from the Crown; and James's daughter and son-in-law, Mary II and William III, were called to the Throne as joint sovereigns. After "Dutch William's" death in 1702 he was succeeded by Anne, the last of the Stewarts to wear the Crown of these realms.

On her death, without surviving issue, in 1714, the House of Hanover reigned in her stead. This succession had been secured by the Act of Settlement (1701), which provided that, under such conditions as now obtained, the crown should devolve on Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her heirs, being Protestants. Sophia, who was a granddaughter of James I, and thus in direct descent from the ancient kings, missed being queen-regnant of England by roughly

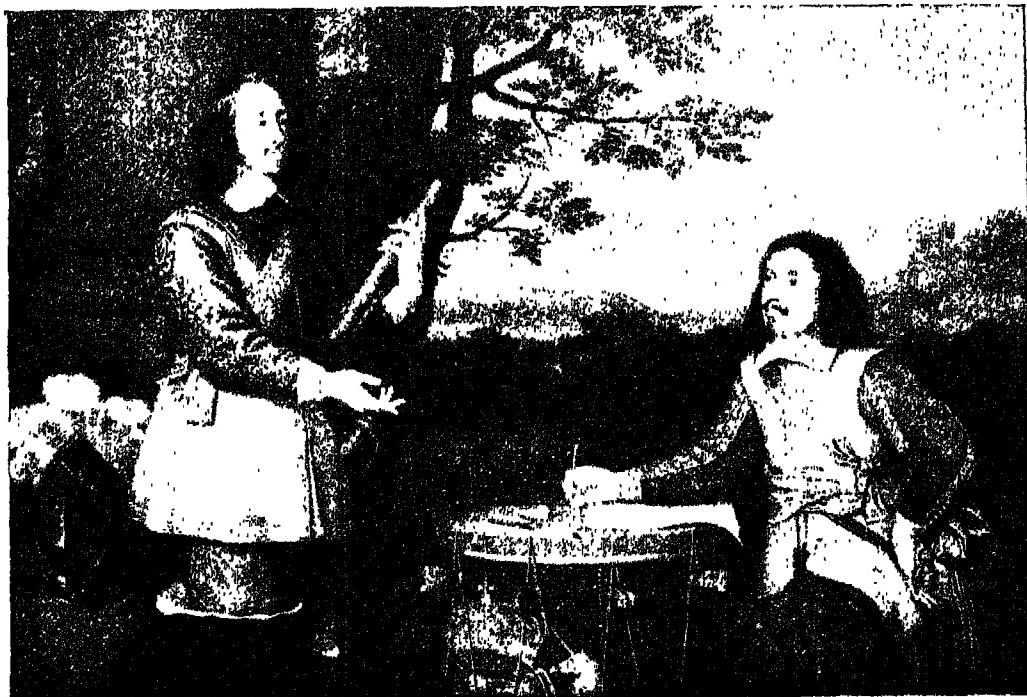
The Succession of Kings

two months, so her eldest son became king as George I.

Believing as they did in the positive validity of their claim, the Chevalier St. George and his elder son, Bonnie Prince Charlie, actively asserted their right to the Throne. At the first their following was by no means negligible, but after the fiasco of the 'Fifteen and the failure of the much more dangerous campaign of the 'Forty-five,

ancestors, has been recognized for centuries as a method of modifying that of heredity. The Crown is not held by right of birth alone.

Since George I's accession the royal line has devolved uninterruptedly through his descendants. And here it may be as well to say a few words as to the actual method of succession. Designed to eliminate dynastic upheavals by a closely regularized system, it



National Portrait Gallery, London.

King Charles I dictating dispatches to Sir Edward Walker—by an unknown artist. Walker was later responsible for arrangements affecting the Coronation of King Charles II.

the Jacobite cause began to dwindle. And since James II's descendants in the male line petered out with a Prince of the Chutch in 1807, we have paid but little attention to the shadowy claims of more remote legitimist pretenders.

In sheer fact these claims have none but an academic existence. They are based upon an acceptance of hereditary right beyond a degree that the nation is prepared to recognize. And as will be abundantly apparent before this book is read through, the elective principle, inherited from our Anglo-Saxon

really places the Royal Family in a more assured position than ever before. This happy consummation has not been achieved by the system alone. To it must be added the strong common sense and conception of service *plus* leadership that for a century or more have animated the monarchs of the realm. Without any intention of disrespect, one may say that our later Monarchs have been admirably trained for their post.

To gain an impression of how our existing system of succession "works," the

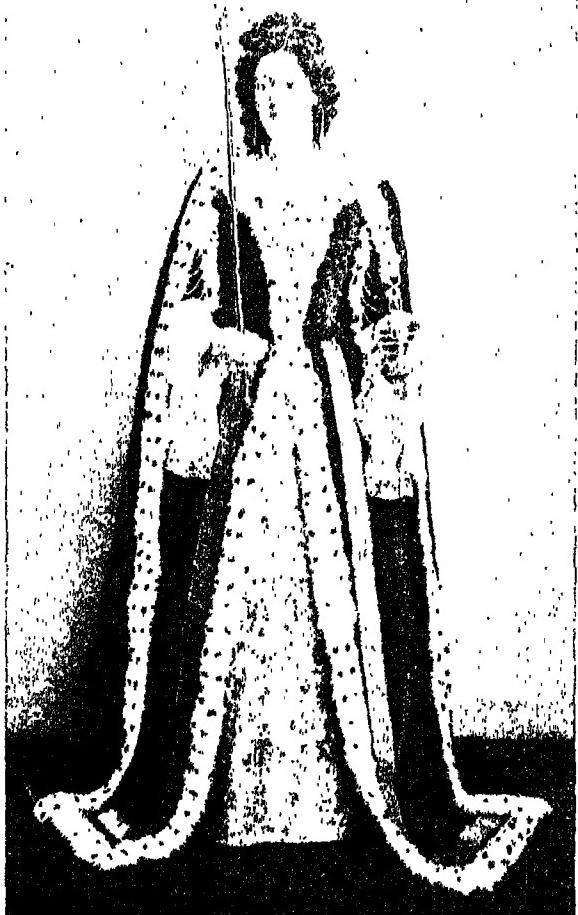
Coronation Cavalcade

simplest course is to refer back to the 18th century.

In the ordinary course of events, George II would have been succeeded by his elder son, the Prince of Wales. But, as "Fred, who was alive and is dead," had died *vita*

the aged George III died in 1820, he was succeeded by his eldest son George IV, the "First Gentleman in Europe."

"Prinney" had had a daughter, the Princess Charlotte, who would have succeeded him as queen-regnant had she not died in child-



Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

King William III and Queen Mary II. The contemporary wax effigies, in robes of the period, which were carried at their respective funerals and are now preserved in Westminster Abbey.

patris, the crown passed to his eldest son, who became George III.

Now "Farmer George" (as he was affectionately termed by his subjects) reared a large brood of both sexes. To all seeming, he had enough sons to secure a succession in the male line for ever.

Fate, however, willed otherwise. When

birth in 1817. Moreover, "Prinney's" next brother, the Duke of York, passed away childless in 1827. So when George IV was gathered to his ancestors in 1830, he was succeeded by his second brother, the Duke of Clarence, as William IV.

Now William's official children had both died in infancy; and his next brother



By gracious permission of His Majesty The King.
KING CHARLES II IN CORONATION ROBES, SEATED ON A THRONE CHAIR AND HOLDING THE SCEPTRE AND ORB.

One of the finest State portraits in existence, this painting was formerly attributed to Pieter Nason, but is now assigned to the Scottish artist Michael Wright: It hangs in St. James's Palace. The representation of some important items of this new Regalia is of much interest.

Coronation Cavalcade

Edward, Duke of Kent, in the same year as George III. Other brothers remained, but the Crown went not to any of them. It was the Duke of Kent's daughter who came into power as Queen Victoria. Devolution of the Crown is not restricted to princes alone.

But, on the other hand, the kingdom of Hanover could not be ruled by a woman. There the Salic Law maintained. Thus, while Victoria became Queen of Great Britain, her uncle, Ernest Augustus, succeeded William IV as King of Hanover, and the two countries were separated for good. Once more reference should be had to the chart pedigree in Chapter XXVIII, which will make these relationships clear.



National Portrait Gallery, London.
Queen Anne. In this portrait by John Closterman, the last of the Stewart sovereigns to occupy the Throne is seen wearing her Coronation Robes.

Kent and his heirs. Not until all these lines were exhausted would the Crown devolve on the Princess Royal and her Lascelles descendants. We need look no further afield.

Applying our own principle to the Royal Family to-day, we have the following result:

As King Edward VIII renounced all rights to the Throne for himself and descendants, next in succession was his brother, King George VI. From him it would pass to the Princess Elizabeth and her heirs; or failing that to the Princess Margaret Rose, and her heirs. Failing that again, the Duke of Gloucester and his heirs would succeed. Next,

the Duke of

CHAPTER IV

What Makes a King

TO the public at large, it is the placing of "St. Edward's Crown" on the brow of the King that in all wise confirms his *puissance* as our monarch.

This view, if broadly correct, does not take into account the other vital ceremonies attendant upon coronations. The imposition of the principal Ornament is literally the crowning moment of the event. But before it is done it must be preceded by the election and consecration. Without these, crowning were an idle pageant.

Let us strip the Coronation Service down to its barest essentials. Setting all else aside, we are left with the following:

First comes the "Recognition," when the new monarch is presented to his people who, by popular clamour, assent to his kingship. The monarch then takes the Oath to govern as a king should do, all this properly constituting the elective phase.

Next, the monarch is anointed as King, prayers being offered for his blessing.

This achieved, the regal Ornaments are delivered to the King. He is enthroned and crowned, and receives the homage of his subjects.

Such, briefly, is the basis of our coronations, without which none can be valid. The main point is that not until the King is recognized and anointed are the Ornaments delivered to him. Not until then is he symbolically and mystically invested with the Crown as an emblem of power.

The anointing and blessing are performed by a fully-fledged prelate or prelates. By ancient usage, the placing of the Crown upon

the King's head is a prerogative of the Archbishop of Canterbury. When this claim started we do not know. It was already old when alluded to in letters of the 12th century of Pope Alexander III to Roger de Pont, Archbishop of York, which inhibited all and sundry from anointing and crowning a king without the approval of Canterbury. This prerogative was jealously guarded, and was anciently held to apply to other crown-wearings. More of these in due season.

The anointing of a King is a process of "setting apart." With consecration, he ceases to be in any respect an ordinary being. Closely akin to the consecration of a bishop is that of a monarch; but the King does not become a bishop in virtue of it, though, mediievally, his anointing with the holy oil was held to give him spiritual jurisdiction. He is not created a priest, nor is he validated thereby to perform any priestly office. What he becomes is a mixture of *clerk* and layman: a *persona mixta*, for which happy term there is no exact English equivalent.

Froissart mentions that after being stripped for the anointing, Henry IV was invested with a deacon's robe, but shod with red velvet shoes, in the manner (*en guise*) of those of a prelate, and thereafter heeled with prick spurs.

Which brings us to another aspect of the Coronation.

A semi-ecclesiastical complexion is not enough. The ceremony must also embrace a reference to another facet of the nature of kingship: that, at once mystic and militant, as expressed in the theory of knighthood.

Coronation Cavalcade

Thus when the golden Spurs are touched to the King's heels, the Sword girt upon his person, and subsequently laid on the Altar, the mediæval ceremony of creating a knight is clearly indicated. That the King may be a knight already—and King George VI, as we know, was invested in King George V's lifetime with the insignia of the Garter and other high Orders—does not obviate him being thus consecrated when he comes to the time of his crowning.

He is dedicated alike to God and to man.

Mystically, symbolically, ceremonially, the monarch enters upon a new phase of his existence. By every act at our disposal, he is set apart—a King. Whether his views be democratic or the reverse; however gracious be his personality, however lovable, he is now induced with that which places him as much apart from his subjects—aye, from his very kith and kin—as, in a different sphere, the priest is from the layman.

Say that these be ceremonics only; say that they are the convenient symbols of a dignity, the worthy maintenance of which is for the welfare of a mighty nation. Say so, and miss the innermost secret of a Coronation.

What human being with brain and mind and feeling could be the focus of this complex reverence and prayer, and emerge as if it were nothing but a show? Who, short of a John or a Richard Crookback, could endure it without receiving *something* from the ordeal?

We, thank God, have not to face a prospect such as that. In King George VI our united hope shines brightly. Amid the glittering glory of the Coronation; gold and cloth of gold; miniver and crimson; swords in embroidered scabbards; gleaming partizans; high place, beauty, and the lesser of our race—

God Save The King!

* * * *

In A.D. 574 St. Columba had a vision in the Isle of Hinba.

He dreamed that an angel of God descended and gave him a book of glass. In it were instructions relating to the ordination of kings, among them that Columba should consecrate Aidan as King of the Dalriad Scots.

Now for reasons of his own the saint was unwilling to do this. So the angel struck him on the side with a scourge, leaving *stigmata* which lasted for life.

Three nights in succession the angel appeared to Columba, ordering and threatening him.

So the saint took boat for Iona, and there ordained Aidan, who had arrived at the same time as he did.

Such is the substance of the legend, as set down by St. Adamnan,* Abbot of Iona, roughly one hundred years later. Those who would read the actual text will find it, with a graceful translation, in Wickham Legg's *English Coronation Records*.

What concerns us now is not the text, but the fact that this supplies the earliest definite account of a coronation in Britain.

It is not a detailed account. The circumstances of the vision were more important to the saintly writer than the ceremony itself. We are told, however, that Columba laid his hand upon Aidan's head, consecrated and blessed him; and that during the words of consecration he prophesied the future concerning Aidan's children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.

Whether the ceremony had other features is not known. One gains the impression that it was as simple as it was saintly. A consecration with a laying on of hands. There is no allusion to any Ornaments; but it must be remembered that St. Adamnan's is not an Order of Coronation, but a record of certain matters which he wished to perpetuate. Under such circumstances one may expect to find stress laid on the priestly or ecclesiastical aspect, instead of the temporal. On the other hand, any priestly delivery of Ornaments, such as the

* St. Adamnan's day is September 23; St. Columba's, June 9.

What Makes a King

imposition of a diadem, might well have been mentioned. The Church had an eye to such matters.

In any case, Aidan's consecration can be scarcely claimed as an ancestor, though it is in some sense a forerunner, of our Coronation Service. Its principal interest lies in the importance of the rite of consecration which, to many, is now obscured by the imposition of a glittering crown. Of the early evolution of our own Coronation ceremony, we have no record, but Lethaby was probably correct in suggesting that a Byzantine element may have entered it after the inauguration of Charlemagne in 800. "This must have formed the great typical Coronation, and itself must largely have been framed on the customs current in Constantinople." (*Westminster Abbey and the Antiquities of the Coronation*.) There are many ritual details of vestments, etc., favouring the supposition that our early coronations were influenced by this historic event.

The Frankish king Charlemagne was recognized by Pope Leo III as the successor of the old and vanished Emperors of the West. As such he was anointed and crowned in St. Peter's at Rome on Christmas Day, 800, amidst shouts of "Long life and victory to Charles *Augustus*, crowned by the Almighty, the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans!" It was the tenth century revival of this, the Holy Roman Empire, that endured right down to the time of Napoleon, who destroyed it. From being a force in world politics it had degenerated into being neither Holy,

Roman, nor an Empire—Voltaire's oft-quoted epigram.

The earliest known form of the English Coronation service is associated with the name of Egbert, Archbishop of York from 732 to 766. Herein, after the anointing,



The Emperor Charlemagne, after Albrecht Dürer. This conception of the great Frankish king, though entirely unhistorical, is interesting since it shows the so-called Crown of Charlemagne which is still preserved in Vienna with the Regalia of the Holy Roman Empire.

provision is made for the presentation of Ornaments to the King. The Regalia, as detailed, consisted of the sceptre, staff and *galea* or helmet: the *cynehelm* or royal helmet with which the crowning was performed. Thereafter, in the later recensions of the

Coronation Cavalcade



The Coronation of King Richard II by Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Abbot Litlyngton; Henry, Earl of Derby, (later King Henry IV.) bears Curtana.

(After Abbot Litlyngton's *Missal*, of c. 1380 at Westminster Abbey.)

service, the Regalia are always allowed for, becoming gradually more elaborate. In the second recension, the *crona* or crown is mentioned under that term, and the ring and the sword are added to the sceptre and rod.

This second known form of the service is called the *Order of Ethelred II*, though with far less certainty than was formerly the case. At the same time, as Wickham Legg has observed, it is as old as the 11th century. It is a good deal fuller than the so-called *Pontifical of Egbert*, and the elective ceremony is clearly specified. There is also provision for the anointing and crowning of a queen.

Another recension, called Henry I's—again a mere attribution—appears in the 12th century, and in the 14th is witnessed the rise of the *Liber Regalis*. This, the most celebrated of all the Coronation Orders used in this country, had a lengthy existence. In some form or other, it was employed from the Coronation of Edward II in 1307-8 till it was mutilated for James II's in 1685.

It was still rendered in Latin for the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth, though the Litany was read in English, as authorized in the 36th year of King Henry VIII. The Epistle and Gospel were delivered in both Latin and English.

The entire service was translated into English for the crowning of the first James in 1603; but the work was hastily done, and though the validity of the Order was unimpaired, the form of its translation gave dissatisfaction. Accordingly, for the next Coronation, King Charles I commanded Archbishop Abbot and his suffragans to make suitable revision, still adhering, of course, to the principle of the *Liber Regalis*. Abbot, by the way, was that prelate who accidentally killed a gamekeeper while shooting with the crossbow at Bramshill in 1621. It was the purest of chances, but Abbot never ceased to blame himself for the mishap, which was avidly seized upon by his opponents. To the end of his life he kept fast on that fatal day of the week.

Under the Commonwealth, Coronations were at a discount, though Charles II was crowned King of Scotland at Scone in 1651. This was entirely a civil ceremony, while Oliver's enthronement in the Coronation Chair in Westminster Hall (1657) was in no sense a coronation at all.

After the Restoration, however, Charles II was crowned with full rites in Westminster Abbey, on St. George's Day, 1661. The Order was once more that of the *Liber Regalis*. But when his brother, James II, was crowned in 1685 the time-honoured service was considerably altered so as not to clash with that monarch's religious opinions.

James's short and uneasy reign closed with the Parliamentary appointment of William and Mary as joint monarchs of the realm. As has been noted, this was an appeal to the ancient elective principle and, at the same time, opportunity was taken to change the form of the Coronation Service. The *Liber Regalis* had grown out of the Orders which had preceded it; but the new Order referred back to first principles by basing itself more directly upon the *Pontifical of Egbert*.

It would be wrong to give the impression that the *Liber Regalis* was completely abandoned. Among other things, the sequence of vesting was retained. But that the form used in 1689, and, with modifications, ever

What Makes a King

since, owes more to an Anglo-Saxon than a mediæval conception cannot be ignored. There are points of difference, some of them involving polemical problems with which this is no place to deal. Certainly, however, the Coronation Service embodies everything therein essential to the valid crowning of a monarch.

One can go further and assert that in election, unction, and coronation it preserves basic rights known to our Saxon forefathers. That does not imply that the service resembles in every respect those used for the crownings of our early kings. Changes and concritions have occurred, and the elective ceremony has been lopped of the last relic of the old Teutonic election by the second estate, as preserved in the pre-Coronation enthronement in Westminster Hall. Yet, apart from this, the meaning of which had for long been obscured and forgotten, the vital essentials remain unimpaired.



The Coronation of King Charles II in Westminster Abbey, in April, 1661: this was the first occasion on which the new St. Edward's Crown was used.
(From an old print.)

So far as the visual side is concerned the pageantry bears much the same relation to the Anglo-Saxon as would trimly-creased trousers to the thonged leggings of a thane, or a solid-wheeled, bullock-drawn cart to the most recent model in automobiles.

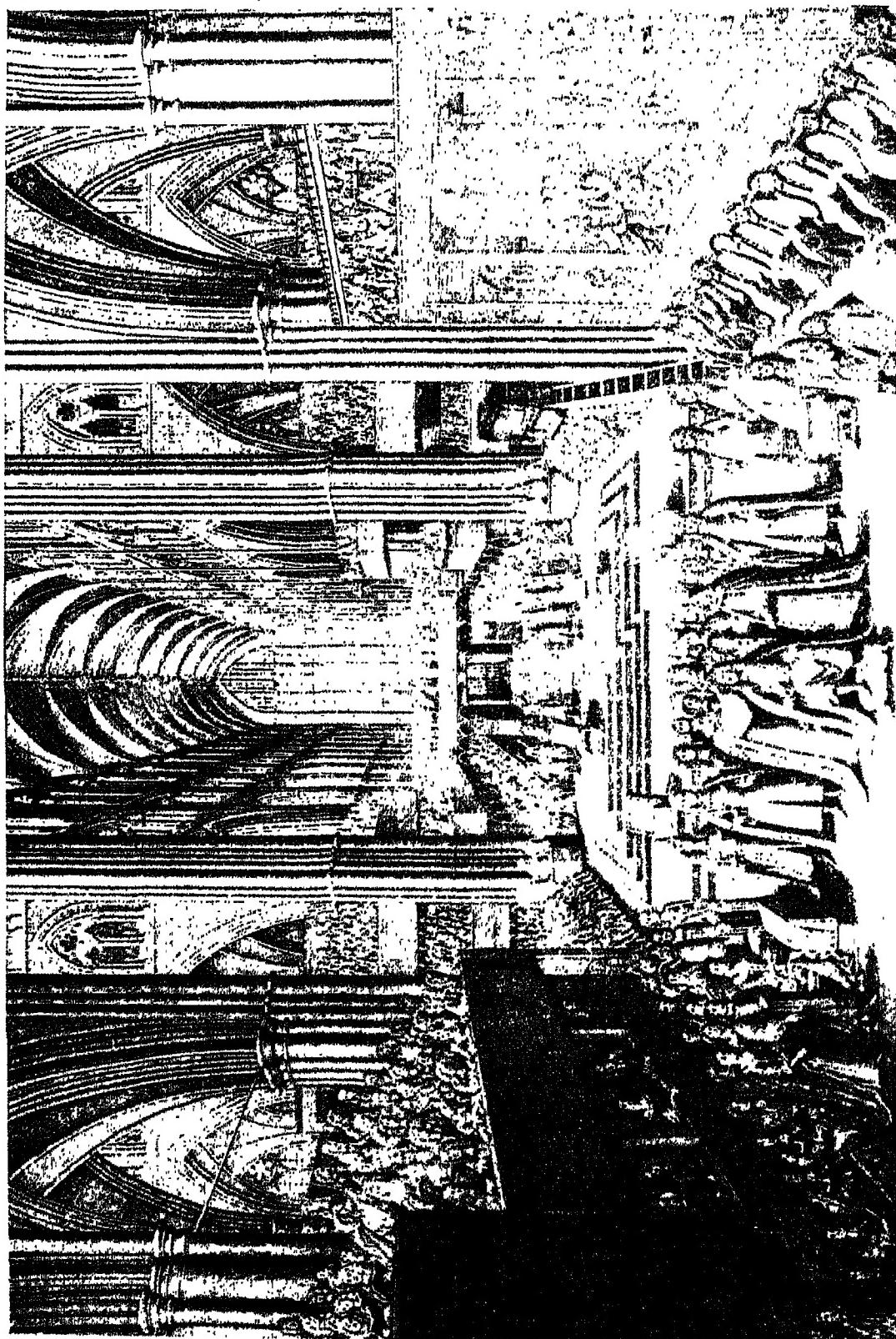
Like a chaplet of beads of numerous shapes and hues, but all strung upon one ancient thread, is the Coronation Service as we know it. It is the outcome of, at the shortest, twelve hundred years of our history.

For centuries, one Coronation per reign has been considered sufficient. In the Middle Ages this view did not necessarily obtain. If, to cite a single contingency, a king felt that his glory had suffered diminution, he might restore it by another coronation. Richard *Cœur-de-Lion* was crowned in 1189, and again in 1194 at Winchester, after his return from captivity. He was not, however, re-anointed.

His nephew, Henry III, was crowned more than once, but there were different reasons for this, as we shall see in due course. To go further back, William the Conqueror was crowned at Westminster in 1066, and again with his consort at Winchester, 1068. Henry II had no less than three coronations between 1154 and 1159, two of them with his consort; though it would be juster to term some of these solemn crown-wearings. (*vide* Round: *The King's Serjeants*.)

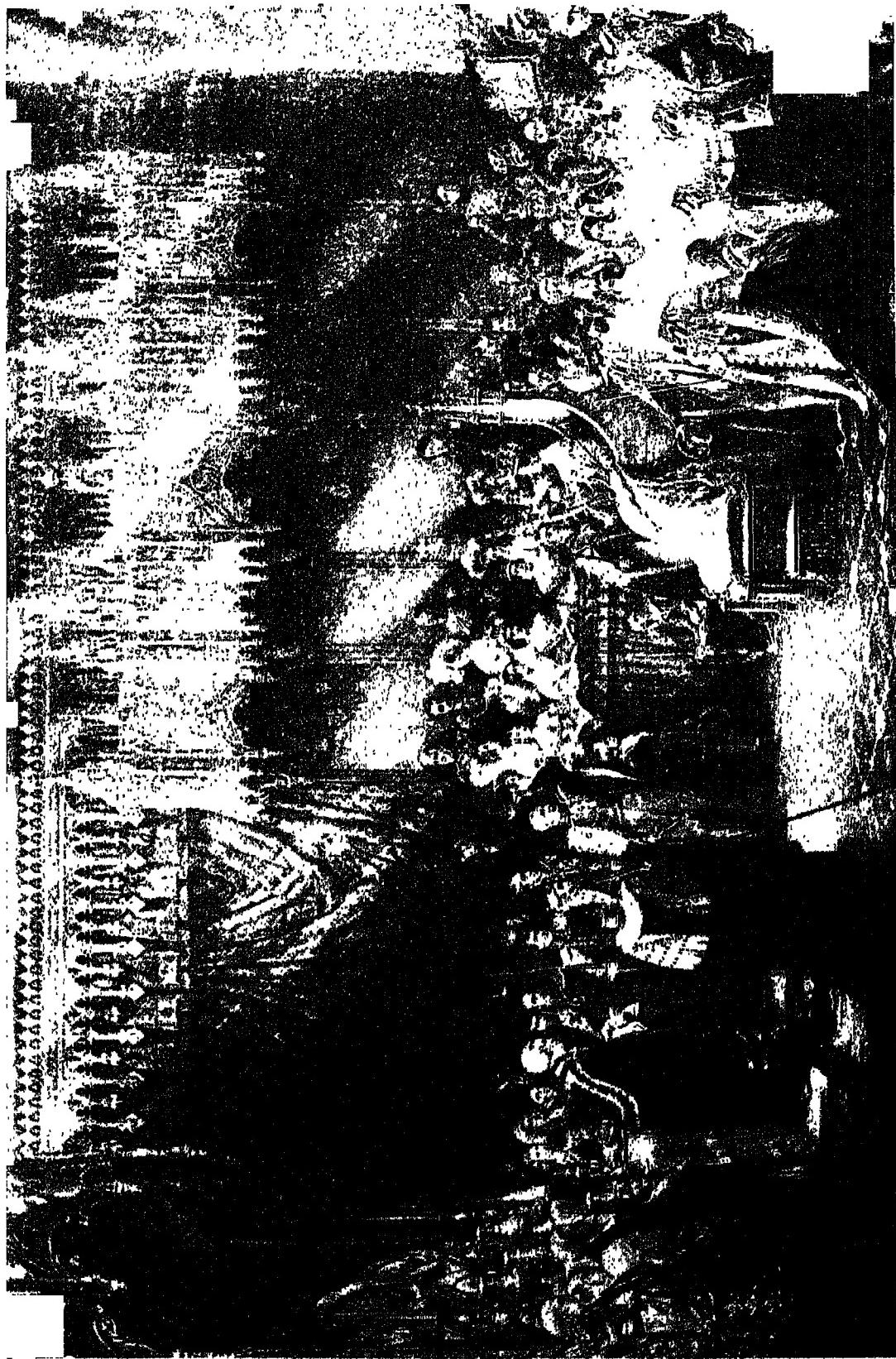
In 1170 their eldest surviving son, Prince Henry, was crowned as *Rex Filius* in his father's lifetime at Westminster; and again at Winchester in 1173, when he married the French king's daughter. But Henry died childless, ten years later, and never ascended the Throne.

Now, although this crowning as *Rex Filius* was a continental custom, inspired by France and the Empire, it never obtained any permanent hold in England. At the same time it reflects a characteristic train of mediæval thought which must be mentioned. Nowadays a demise of the Crown is immediately followed by an accession. In effect Kingship never ends. *Le Roi est mort!*



THE CORONATION OF KING JAMES II IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY IN 1685, WHEN THE ORDER OF SERVICE WAS MODIFIED TO CONFORM WITH THE MONARCH'S RELIGIOUS VIEWS.

From the engraving by W. Sherwin in Sandford's *History of the Coronation of King James II.*



THE CORONATION OF QUEEN VICTORIA—AT THE AGE OF 19—IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY, JUNE 28, 1838.

Of this great occasion the Queen wrote in her journal: "The enthusiasm, affection and loyalty were really touching, and I shall ever remember this day as the proudest of my life."

From the engraving by H. T. Ryall, after a painting by Sir George Hayter, in the Royal Collections.

Coronation Cavalcade

Vive le Roi! He is confirmed and finally validated by Coronation.

The ancient conception was different: a reign was held to commence *with* the Coronation. This explains the basis of many a dynastic squabble, and the eagerness of kings to set the succession beyond reach of criticism. If the reign dated *from* Coronation, an awkward *interregnum* might occur between the death of one king and the accession of the next. During that *interregnum* anything might happen: claimants and pretenders arise, outbreaks of hostilities occur.

If, on the other hand, the new king had already been crowned, no *interregnum* could arise. Such, at least, was the theory. Once crowned with due rites the prince was a king in embryo, whatever might chance to him later.

We cannot deny that our ancestors' wisdom discovered a more reliable system than this. By the law of succession as now constituted we have that which obviates dispute while retaining the best from the past.

* * * * *

To understand what follows, the order of investiture should be borne in mind. I give it very briefly, leaving details for later discussion. Not all these items will figure in King George VI's Coronation, and in some particulars the place of certain Ornaments in the ceremony has varied from time to time.



Stone MS. 15. British Museum.

The Book on which the Kings and Queens of England—from King Henry I to King Henry VIII—are said to have taken their Coronation Oath. Though it is partly of 12th century date, the ancient tradition of its use is unsupported by definite evidence: the crucifix belongs to the 15th century.

Thereafter a Bible is presented to the King, who is enthroned. The Archbishop kisses the King on the left cheek; the other bishops kiss the King; the peers pay their fealty and homage, kissing the cheek and touching the Crown on his head.

The King is divested of "St. Edward's Robes," and dons his Robes of Estate.*

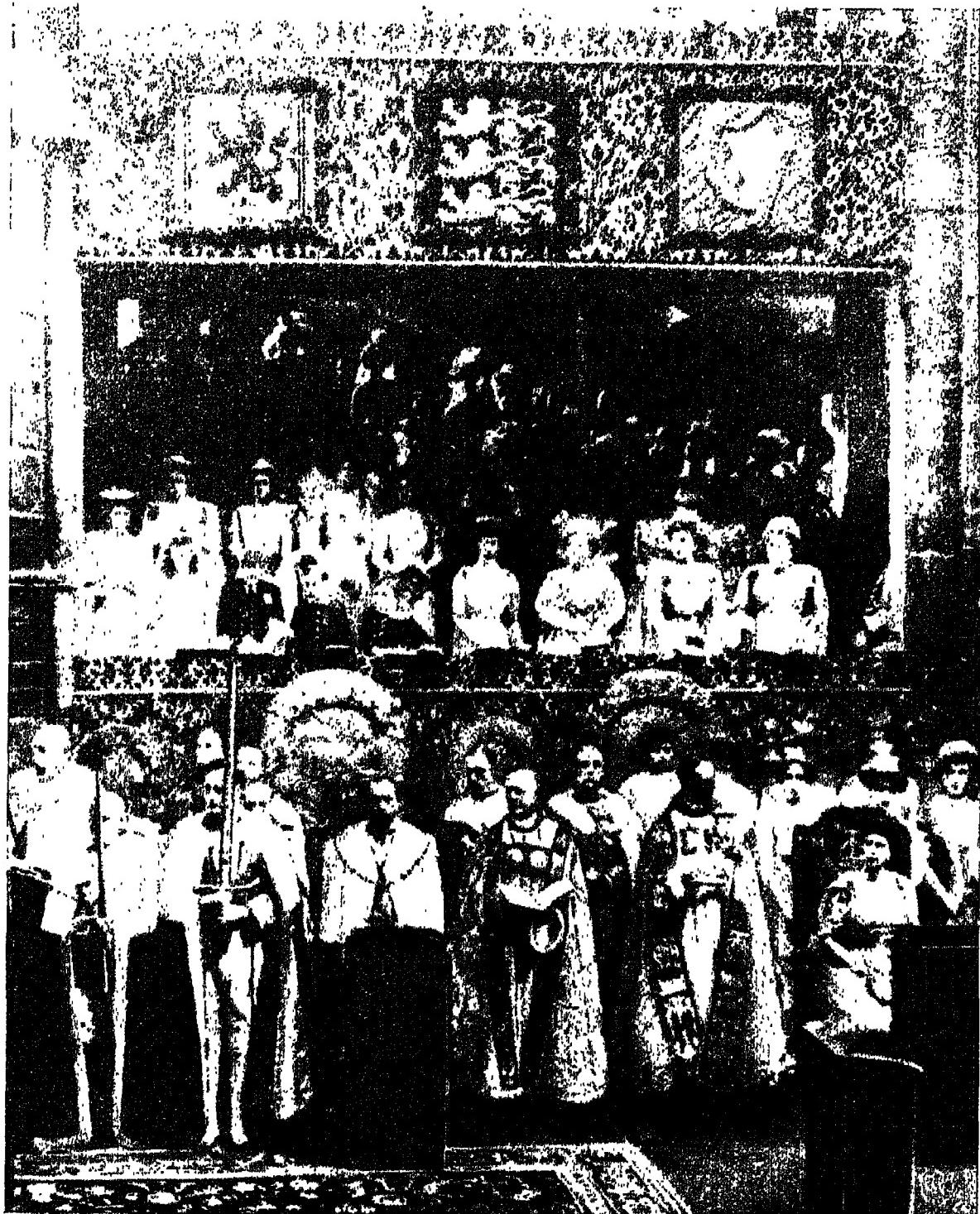
*An outstanding distinction between the Parliament Robes and the Robes of Estate is that while the former are crimson, the latter are purple.

The King enters the Abbey in his Parliament Robes and wearing his Cap of Maintenance. He is presented to the congregation, which "recognizes" and acclaims him. He takes the Oath. The Parliament Robes are put off, and the King is anointed.

He is then clothed in the anointing Vestments, or "St. Edward's Robes," of semi-sacerdotal character: the *coif* (obsolete), *colobium sindonis*, and *supertunica*. The "Linson Hose" and sandals should come next. The Spurts and Sword follow. The *armil* or stole is placed about his neck. The *pallium* or mantle is placed on the King. The Orb is delivered.

Here follows the delivery of the other Ornaments: the Ring, Sceptres, and "St. Edward's Crown." In some accounts, the placing of the Crown on the royal head precedes the delivery of the Ring and Sceptres, but its most appropriate position in the ceremony is as stated.

—



THE CORONATION OF KING GEORGE V AND QUEEN MARY AT WESTMINSTER ABBEY ON JUNE 22, 1911.

On King George's right hand, at this early stage of the ceremony, stands the 7th Earl Beauchamp bearing the Sword of State; next to him again is F.M. Earl Roberts with the Sword of Spiritual Justice. Queen Mary is seen seated. This pictorial record is unique in that special permission was accorded the photographer, Sir Benjamin Stone; the use of cameras being ordinarily prohibited.

Coronation Cavalcade

With the State Crown on his head, and carrying the Orb and Sceptre with the Cross, he leaves the Church in procession.

As a regular feature, the delivery of the Bible dates from William and Mary's Coronation. For a long time the Oath embodied a declaration to govern according to the Confessor's laws. It is now to govern according to the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom and to maintain the Laws of God and the Established Church.

In the British Museum are preserved two venerable manuscripts known as "Coronation Oath Books." Both are said to be those on which our Kings made their Oath

in bygone times. One is the Gospels of King Athelstan, written in the 10th century (Cotton MS. *Tiberius A. II*); and the other basically of 12th-century date (Stowe MS. 15). The traditions of their use are of some antiquity, but lack corroboration. It is noteworthy that Stowe MS. 15 contains a form of oath of fealty to Henry VIII. Of more definite importance is the *Promissio Regis*, or coronation-pledge of Ethelred II (978) (Cotton MS. *Cleop. B. XIII*).

The superb manuscript of the *Liber Regalis*, which was actually used at mediæval coronations, is in the Library of Westminster Abbey. (MS. of ca. 1380-90.)

CHAPTER V

The Wearing of Crowns

IN a general sense, we speak of "the Crown" when referring to any of the various diadems which have encircled the brows of our monarchs. This is a loose and popular usage which has caused a deal of confusion. In fact, the Crowns possess their own particular qualities, which should be clearly understood.

The significance of "St. Edward's Crown" is as distinct from that of the State Crown as from those of the Crown of Scotland or the Crown of the King as Emperor of India.

"St. Edward's" is the Sacred Crown that is placed on the head of the monarch in Westminster Abbey at the actual moment of coronation. *It is worn for no other purpose.* It is a talismanic *palladium* in the same sense that the Iron Crown of Lombardy or the "Crown of Charlemagne" (so-called) is such. And if it be objected that the present "St. Edward's Crown" is merely a successor in name to the ancient Ornament of the Confessor, it must be also admitted that the "Crown of Charlemagne" has no real connection with the great successor of the Emperors of the West.

On the other hand, the Imperial State Crown is worn by the King on the occasions involving what are known as "crown-wearings." It is an emblem of power and dominion, but its nature is secular, and embodies no mystical properties.* This is the Crown which is worn by the King when going in state to the Parliament Houses.

In a manner of speaking, "St. Edward's" is the Crown that "makes" the King; the State Crown, that which he wears.

Both may be placed on the royal head at a Coronation, but it is "St. Edward's" by adoption, the "relic crown"—which—takes priority and confers the prime lustre. Sundry monarchs have been crowned with still more. Edward VI and Mary I had three crowns imposed on their heads in succession. These were St. Edward's, the State (or Imperial), and a rich personal crown specially made for the monarch. Curiously enough, Queen Victoria's Coronation was performed with her State Crown; but this does not affect the main argument. In any case, "St. Edward's Crown," if not worn, was present at the ceremony.

How the distinction arose is as follows: In the Middle Ages kings had their Privy Regalia, apart and distinct from the Great or the Sacred Regalia which were lent by the Westminster Abbey authorities as relics, and had to be returned to them. (This was before the entire Regalia passed to the Crown.) Crown-wearing was a great deal more general than it is now, and thus Regalia which were the monarch's personal property were a necessary adjunct to his state. There were all manner of occasions on which a crown might be wanted, if only a light one for "ordinary use," or one to encircle his helmet in warfare. Obviously, such were not times for wearing the sacred Crown of the Confessor, which was laid up as a relic at Westminster, so another (or others) was provided as requirements

* Except in so far as the Black Prince's "Ruby," which is set in it, is a talismanic stone; and just possibly, though very doubtfully, the sapphire attributed to the Confessor.

Coronation Cavalcade

dictated. Thus the differentiation between the sacred and state Ornaments is clearly apparent.

At the same time the State Crown was no bauble, and if a king could secure or inherit his father's diadem, it was a confirmation of his claim to the throne by descent, quite apart from any affectionate motives involved. Such, however, did not always happen, and unless we have plainly before us the difference between St. Edward's Crown and the Crown Imperial, we shall become bewildered at the numerous diadems which have been lost, pawned, or remade at various periods. Such changes mainly relate to State or privy Crowns. Seemingly, St. Edward's remained intact from the Confessor's time to 1649, since when it has been replaced.

Following an Anglo-Saxon custom, the Norman kings had three great annual crown-wearings. When in England, William I would wear his crown, or *king-helm*, at our ancient capital, Winchester, at Easter; Westminster, at Pentecost; in Mid-winter at Gloucester.

At a crown-wearing in 1121 Henry I got into hot water for putting on the Ornament with his own hands. We have seen in an earlier chapter that the "right of Canterbury" to place the crown on the royal head at a coronation was no new thing when Pope Alexander III confirmed it, at Becket's instance, in the second half of the 12th century. But it would seem that the Archbishops of Canterbury tended to interpret the custom as applying to all major instances of crown-wearing.

On the occasion cited, Archbishop Ralf of Escures found Henry *Beaumont* already wearing the diadem. He eyed the king severely, and asked some pointed questions. After a feeble attempt at evasion, the king loosed the fillets beneath his chin, which tied his crown on his head, and surrendered the crown to the Metropolitan, who formally replaced it. (Round: *The King's Sergeants*.)

Though not a parallel instance, a curious incident took place at the coronation feast of the young King Edwy in 956. There had doubtless been a deal of tossing of the

drink horn, and Edwy, besides, was a boy of amorous propensities.

Leaving the feast, Edwy retired to the private company of his bride-elect—and her mother, who had obtained an influence over him. The dereliction was noticed, and Archbishop Oda headed the general expression of discontent at it. Now everyone knew that the devotions in which the king was engaged were not those of Holy Church, but more appropriate to the worship of the pagan goddess, Freyja. At length two ecclesiastics decided to beard the monarch in his lair. One of them, St. Dunstan, was to become traditionally apt in tweaking the nose of the Devil.

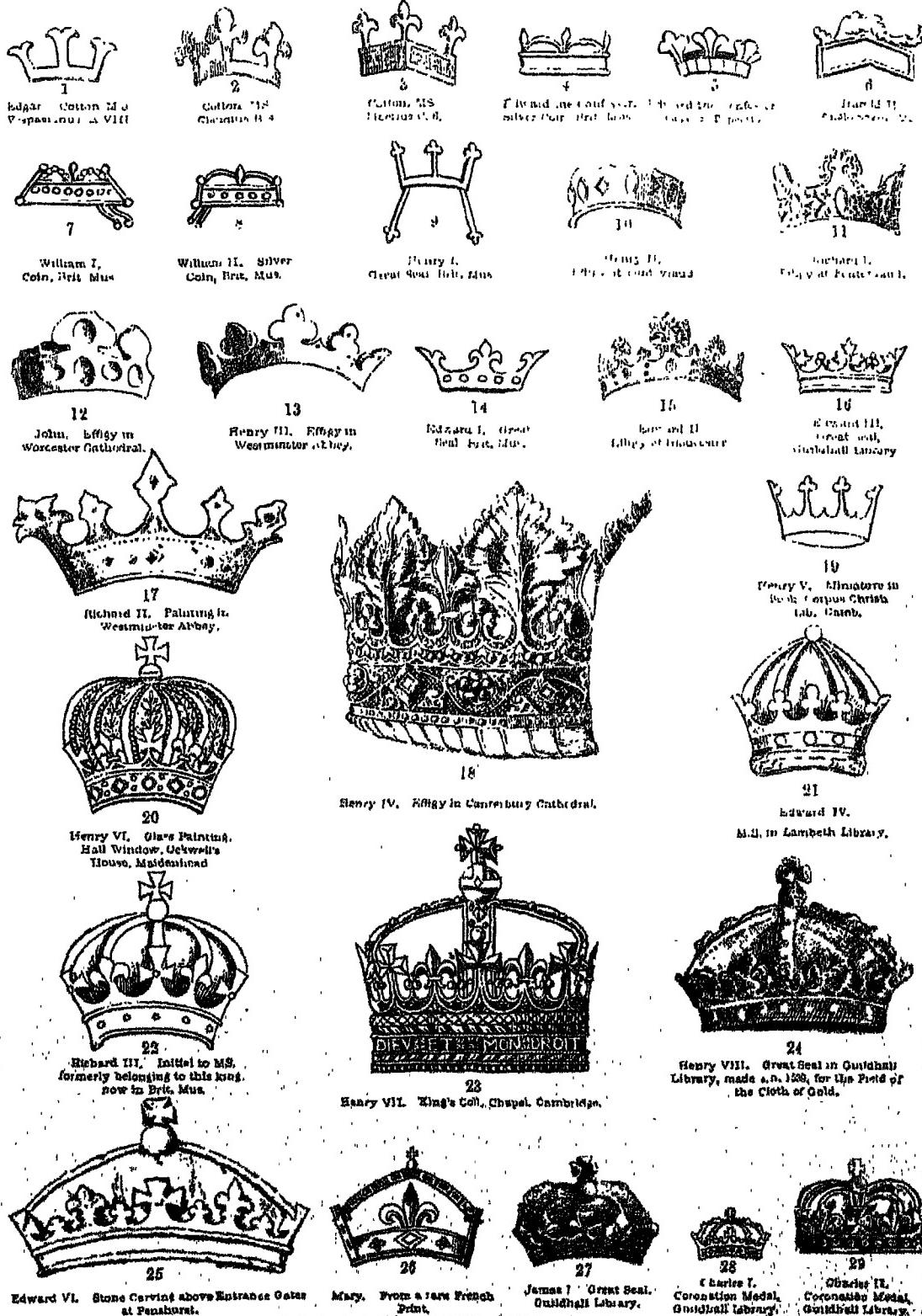
They stalked into the ladies' bower where they found Edwy in what Sir Charles Oman neatly describes as "very private and familiar conversation," with his crown lying in a corner. Dunstan rated the women for their foolishness, planted the diadem on the king's head, and grimly escorted him back to his place at the banquet.

If we were to take the mediæval miniaturists literally, kings and queens made a habit of going to bed in their crowns. As the sole article of "slumber wear"—for folk went to rest naked in those days—a crown could not have been very comfortable; but we may assume that, in many cases, the representation was no more than an artistic device to make plain the sleeper's regality. At the same time, a bedchamber audience might be so graced, and there are other possibilities.

For instance, the Crown Imperial might lie where the king had doffed it. For a picture of this we have but to look up our Shakespeare. You remember the good, crusted tale of Prince Hal donning the crown of his sleeping father—and the pother it caused?

"*Why doth the crown lie there upon his pillow,
Being so troublesome a bedfellow?
O polish'd perturbation! golden care!
That keep'st the ports of slumber open wide
To many a watchful night!—sleep with it now!*"

* * * *



TYPES OF CROWNS AS WORN AT DIFFERENT PERIODS BY ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS.
These examples are derived from representations on coins, MSS., seals, sculptures, etc.

Coronation Cavalcade

*This sleep is sound indeed; this is a sleep,
That from this golden rigot hath divorce'd
So many English kings. . . .
My due, from thee, is this imperial crown,
Which, as immediate from thy place and boud,
Derives itself to me."*

(II Henry IV, Act iv, Scene v.)



King Richard II, wearing an open crown of typical mediæval character. From an early anonymous painting. (See illustration No. 17, page 43.)

Deciding that his kingly sire was dead, Prince Hal "decorated himself" with the crown. But Henry IV, awaking in the nick of time, administered the hurt rebuke that echoes down the ages.

Now, taking the story simply as told, there are several points about it to be noted.

The crown in case was the Crown Imperial and the king's personal diadem. An heir

apparent, believing his father to be dead, would readily avail himself of the chance to secure so important a piece of the Privy Regalia. Merely to don this diadem out of vanity would be an insignificant gesture as compared with so material a matter. *It was his father's crown.*

Shakespeare's noble speeches remind me that, on the whole, our conception of our mediæval kings is too genteel. Expressions of mood, outbursts of splenetic temper, were freely vented in the Middle Ages. Though cunning abounded, behaviour was, in many ways, more *naïve* than now. Even Nobility and Dignity were by no means always attended by the repose that "stamps the caste of Vere de Vere." That Tennysonian reduplicant tells as strongly of a later age as do the words preceding it.

I cannot vouch for the reference, but I remember hearing of a certain item of account which might have some bearing on this point. It was said to read somewhat as follows:

"For mending the Queen's crown which the King had thrown into the fire, iiijd." Edward ["Longshanks"] had a taste for this sort of pleasantry.

In mediæval times it was customary to bury kings attired in their anointing vestments and at any rate part of their Privy Regalia, or copies of it. This was done in the case of King John, but to expedite his passage through Purgatory his head was wrapped in a monk's cowl instead of being crowned. As an early example of *camouflage*, with the intention of cheating the devil, this substitution is interesting. When John's tomb at Worcester was opened in 1797, the cowl was still in place.

But when the great Purbeck slab was lifted from Edward "Longshank's" monument at Westminster in 1774, that mighty king's head was seen to be encircled with an open crown of gilt laton, surmounted by

The Wearing of Crowns

trefoils, and his hands yet clasped sceptres with the Cross and the Dove.

The type of crown known to "Long-shanks" differed considerably from that now in use. There is no cause to doubt that the idea of the crown was inspired by the Roman imperial fillet, which became crossed with other influences. In Saxon times, when a helmet-form was not used, crowns were usually open: that is to say, unarched and uncovered. They were not necessarily circular. One old form of crown (which persisted well into the Middle Ages) was polygonal, composed of a series of plates, pinned or bolted together. Edgar is seen wearing such a crown, with, in this case, a species of *fleurons*; and various other Saxon and Norman kings are represented in polygonal crowns, occasionally arched. The Confessor is sometimes shown on his coins in a close crown, sometimes in his *cynebelm* or regal helmet.

The open crown which, in some cases, had known foliated ornament on its upper rim in Saxon times, was freely used by our Angevin monarchs. It had then developed the characteristic *fleurons*, so well known from mediæval paintings and sculptures.

Under Henry IV, however, a return was made to the arched crown. That is to say, he either had the original St. Edward's Crown arched over for more dignity, or else had it refashioned in that form. I shall touch on this point later. Here let us note that the arched type of crown gradually supplanted the open, though the latter lingers in various ways, such as the light circlets of Victoria, the Prince of Wales (in the Welsh Insignia), and the peers' coronets. The last are simply open crowns lined with caps of estate.

The close crowns of our late Angevin kings were steeply elevated, the angle of the ribs approximating to the head of a typical Gothic arch. This was gradually depressed until, under Charles II, the ribs curved markedly outwards before inclining inwards to their junction under the Cross. From this form the present type has evolved,

though the exuberance of the curve has been checked.

This arched form of crown is known as *Imperial*: in this case a stylistic term not to be confused with the title of the State or Imperial Crown.* The crown of the Holy Roman Empire, so-called the "Crown



National Portrait Gallery, London.

King Henry IV, wearing a rich crown, probably that known as "Great Harry," which was broken up and pawned piecemeal in the following reign. From a cast of the effigy on his tomb chest in Canterbury Cathedral.

(See illustration No. 18, page 43.)

of Charlemagne," is (singly) arched, and coins of Constantine XI, the last Christian Emperor of Byzantium, who fell fighting

* For instance, Sir Edward Walker mentions the order to provide "two Imperiall Crownes," for Charles II's Coronation, one of them "to be called St Edward's Crowne." Here the allusion is obviously stylistic.

Coronation Cavalcade

the Turk in 1453, show him wearing a diadem surmounted by an arch and a cross.

When Henry VIII had an eye to securing the Holy Roman Imperiate, the significance of the close crown was "explained" to him by Tunstall, as follows:

"Oon of the cheffe points in the election off th' emperor, is that he which shall be electyed must be off Germanic, subgiet to [the] empire; whereas your Grace is not, nor never sithen the Christian faith the kings of Englund were subgiet to th' empire. But the crown of Englund is an empire of hitself, mych bettyr then now the empire of Rome: for which cause your Grace werith a close crown."*

As an historical exposition, Tunstall's words open interesting points. Often arches on crowns are described as an indication of independent sovereignty; but it is at least a fact that the close crown has acquired a wider imperial significance. Our King indisputably rules over an Empire "mych bettyr" than that, at any time, of Rome, wherefore the imperial formation of crown is highly appropriate to him.

* * * *

Let us now glance at the lesser crowns (or coronets) as proper to personages less than the King. The Queens' and Prince of Wales' Crowns will be dealt with in Chapter VIII.

Under a grant from Charles II, the Royal Dukes are entitled to wear a crown of gold,

surmounted with four *fleurs-de-lys* alternating with as many *crosses paly*; the cap being turned up with ermine and gold tasselled. For Princesses of Great Britain there is an alternation of *fleurs-de-lys*, *crosses paly* and strawberry leaves; while in appropriate cases of royal cousins, the rim is surmounted with similar crosses and strawberry leaves only.

From this it will be seen that respective grades are precisely differentiated by sundry

forms of coronet. Precision, indeed, has reached a pitch which would have been incomprehensible to a mediaeval spectator, concerned (in the main) with whether a coronet was rich or less aspiring. Since, however, the strictly regularized system has come into use, we can but note it, always remembering that much of it has a 17th-century origin.

The distinctive forms as proper to the non-royal peerage (applying also to peeresses) are as follows, the coronets being lined with crimson velvet caps, turned up with ermine, and gold tasselled on the top.

Duke (other than a Royal Duke): a circle set round with the eight strawberry leaves beloved of novelists.

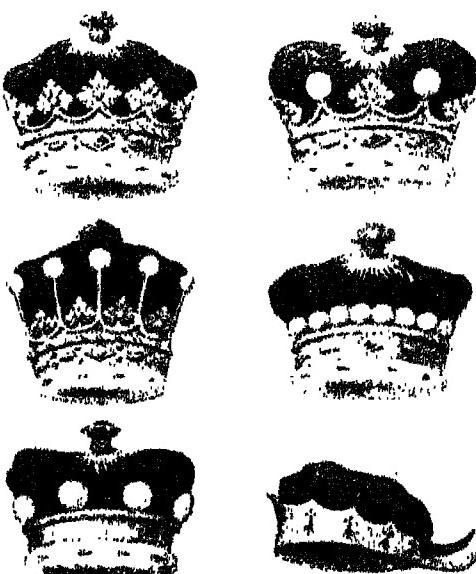
Marquess: set round with four strawberry leaves alternating with four silver balls or "pearls."

Lair: bears eight strawberry leaves, placed alternately between eight silver balls on slender stalks or rays.

Viscomit: surmounted by sixteen silver balls, set close to the rim.

Baron: similar, but with six silver balls.

* Quoted by Jones: *Crowns & Coronations*.



Conventional representations of peerage coronets. (Left to right, from top): Duke, Marquess, Earl, Viscount and Baron. The heraldic portrayal of a late form of Cap of Estate (bottom right) is given for comparison with the true type illustrated on page 71.

The Wearing of Crowns

In conventional representations of these coronets as, for instance, on dies for stationery, a certain number only of the cresting symbols are indicated. Thus a Baron's coronet is shown with four balls, the remaining two being supposed to be out of sight on the distant part of the circumference. Here it may be mentioned that "Marquess" is now the officially recognized spelling of that dignity, though in bygone times "Marquis" was freely used, and still is so sometimes in a popular connotation. I remember that fine example of a cultured Irish peer, the 6th Marquess of Sligo, more than once expressing his dissatisfaction with a rendering which tended to confuse his title with the unequivalent rank of a French *Marquis*.

The Kings of Arms are also entitled to diadems surmounted by foliations, and lined with caps turned up ermine, and gold tasselled. The wearing of open crowns by these officials is of considerable antiquity. Anciently they were fashioned of gold, silver, or copper gilt, no jewels but rubies being allowed in them. The average peerage coronet is of silver gilt. For a long time

past, it has been instructed that none of them should be jewelled.

At coronations, the placing of "St. Edward's Crown" upon the regal brow is the signal for all appropriate members of the congregation to be covered. The peers don their coronets, the Kings of Arms their crowns, and so forth, symbolizing the conception of the monarch as the fount of honour, whence dignities emanate.

When a queen-consort is also crowned, the peeresses put on their coronets at the moment that her diadem is imposed.

Some writers have remarked that there is no record of this peculiarly impressive donning of coronets before the investiture of King Charles I. But it is indisputably a rite of ancient complexion, and one well in accord with the early conception of the termination of an *interregnum* between the demise of one king and the crowning of the next. Incidentally, Charles I's consort, Henrietta Maria, was never crowned owing to her religious beliefs. Nor did the barons then participate in the coronet donning, for the very good reason that they were not granted their diadems until 1661.

CHAPTER VI

The Old Regalia and the New

WE are all agog to behold the Crowns, but before doing so we must pause to glance at the Regalia's history.

Reference to certain old terms, like "St. Edward's Crown," may convey the misleading idea that the Regalia date from Anglo-Saxon times. This is true, in a sense; but that all of the Ornaments are very much later must be understood. "St. Edward's Crown" is a title of memory; the Crown of the Confessor has long disappeared, but the term has adhered to its successor.

For practical purposes, the history of the Regalia may start with Edward the Confessor, who died in 1066. There is reason to believe that his Ornaments were long preserved as he wished them to be. We know of this mainly, though not solely, from a document which, though written approximately four centuries after the Confessor's time, appears to embody an authentic tradition which had been continuously handed down at Westminster.

About the middle of the 15th century, a monk, named Spotley, of Westminster, compiled an inventory of the Sacred Regalia. To use Wickham Legg's translation: "St. Edward, king and confessor, for the memory

of posterity and for the dignity of the royal coronation, caused to be preserved in this church all the royal ornaments with which he was crowned." These included both jewels and vestments, the latter of which will be mentioned elsewhere.

As apart from the vestments, the Ornaments specified are "an excellent golden crown, a golden comb, and a spoon;" a golden sceptre, one wooden rod gilt, and another of iron. For the coronation of the queen there were a crown and two rods; and for the king's communion on the day of his coronation, a chalice of onyx with a foot, rivets, and paten "of the best gold."

"All of which are to be considered precious relics."

We can state, therefore, that these objects were associated by posterity with the Confessor's memory; and that some were actually his is extremely probable. From a much later document, which we shall shortly encounter, it is clear that there existed at Westminster a Crown which possibly dated from Saxon times, and there are other details affording corroborative evidence. Amongst these, the allusion to an iron rod is significant. Iron



Photo: W. F. Mansell.
No precise knowledge exists as to the appearance of the original St. Edward's Crown which vanished in 1649, but a regal headpiece worn by the Confessor is here shown on his Great Seal, here illustrated from an impression in the British Museum.

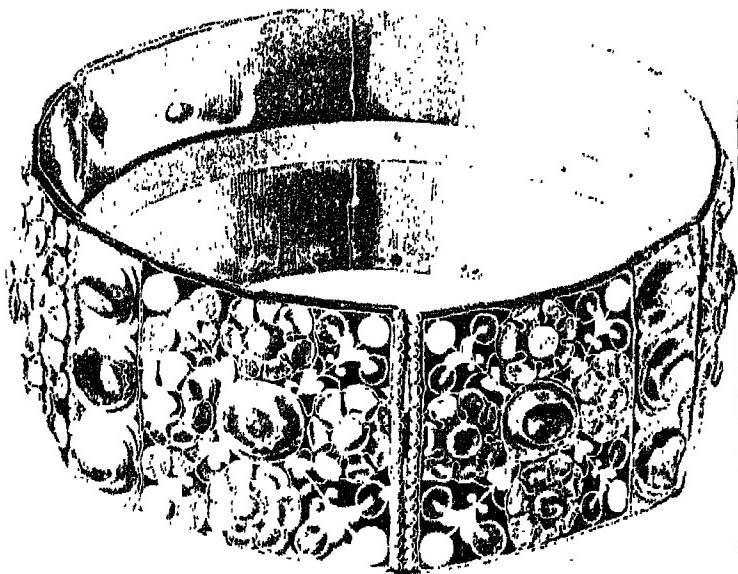
was a compound which was not regarded in Saxon times in the solely utilitarian light that it is to-day. There was a very ancient belief

The Old Regalia and the New

that to touch iron was in some wise to counter hateful influences of a supernatural order. And the existence of the famous Iron Crown of Lombardy, if its date and origin are dubious, proves how such a conception became bound up with Christian beliefs. For the Crown at Monza is said to have been fashioned from a Holy Nail of The Cross; and though there is no evidence of its having been worn by a king before Henry of Luxemburg in 1311, it may be, as a votive Crown, very much older than this.

In dealing with Sporley's inventory of the Confessor's Regalia, allowance must be made for possible error. This was a collection of relics, and mediæval treasures of the sort were liable to increase. This might happen in various ways, ranging from deliberate additions, to the replacement of some lost or partially destroyed relic; or, again, to the later inclusion of some antique object which, by an honest mistake, was supposed to have belonged to the original collection. Nor can the first alternative, the replacement of relics, be necessarily regarded in the light of forgery, though it sometimes amounted to such. In the mediæval outlook it was permissible to build up an entire relic from some small splinter or fragment of another. The "new" relic, in which this fragment was incorporated, was held to acquire some or all of the properties of the original. Such a conception, resulting in a countless reduplication of relics, opened the way to abuses which provided an item of indictment at the Reformation period. That is not a matter which need trouble us here; the point at issue is this: In the course of this book various allusions to Sporley's inventory

will have to be made. In all such references it must be borne in mind that though some of the items he cites were doubtless part of the Confessor's Regalia, it does not necessarily follow that all of them were so. Having registered which reservation, we can indulge what amounts to more than an article of creed: the strong probability that at any rate part of the Confessor's Ornaments remained intact for not much short of six hundred



The famous Iron Crown of Lombardy, in the Cathedral of Monza, is one of the most celebrated relic crowns in existence. It is wrought of gold and jewels around a circlet of iron legendarily fashioned from a Holy Nail, and is supposed to have been given by the Pope to Theodelinda, Queen of the Lombards, c. 590. Unlike the original St. Edward's Crown, however, it was not in the first place intended for any other but votive purposes.

years after his death. During those centuries the Regalia (as a whole) received many alterations and additions, especially in so far as the Privy Ornaments were concerned.

Let us drop the curtain for a space and raise it again on the year of disaster, 1649. In that tragic time the Parliamentarian fanatics decided upon the destruction of both King and Regalia. Nearly seven months after King Charles had been murdered, the emblems of regality were all but extirpated. The Jewel House at West-

Coronation Cavalcade

minster was entered and an inventory taken. Thereafter, the sacred ornaments were, at any rate in part, "totallie Broken and defaced." No more damnable vandalism has happened in the history of England.

According to the money of those times, the entire Regalia was valued at £612 17s. 8½d.; which, it goes without saying, was worth much more then than it would be to-day.

Among the various items was "King Alfreds Crowne of gould wyerworke sett with slight stones, and 2 little bells." At £3 per ounce for 79½ ounces, this scaled £248 10s. od. Its attribution to King Alfred need not mislead us; in all probability this was the Crown of St. Edward.

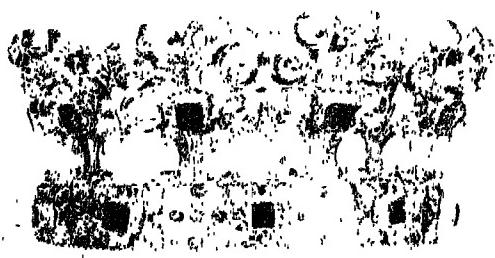
Above it is cited "Queene Ediths Crowne formerly thought to be of Massy gould but vpon triall found to be of Siluer gilt Enrichd with Garnets foul pearl Saphires and some odd stones." This weighed 50½ ounces, and was valued at just £16. Whether it had any other than a nominal association with the Confessor's virginal spouse seems doubtful. If this were the crown depicted in a portrait of Henrietta Maria at the National Portrait Gallery, and redrawn thence by Wickham Legg, it was surmounted by steep arches of mediæval type, though the diadem itself was of the old polygonal formation. It is possible that the arches were added to it later, but as the polygonal shape endured well into the Middle Ages, no particular argument can be

deduced from this detail. I suspect that "Queen Edith's Crown" was, at all events in part, of 14th century date.

Besides these ancient diadems, the Parliamentarians listed the Imperial Crown of massy gold, richly jewelled (£1,110); the Queen's Crown, also of gold, and jewelled (£338 3s. 4d.); and a "Small Crowne found in an Iron Chest," thought to have been Edward VI's (£73 16s. 8d., plus a further £355 for its diamonds, rubies, "Emrods,"

and pearls). An orb, ampul, various staves and sceptres, two "Coronation Bracelets" and a pair of spurs are mentioned with various other items. By comparison with Sporley's inventory, it is interesting to note that two staves, thought to be of gold, turned out to be of silver gilt upon a basis of wood in one case, and iron in the other. The queen-consort's gold-mounted staff of black and white ivory, surmounted by a dove, may have been Queen Edith's. The Confessor's onyx chalice can perhaps be recognized in a "large glass Cupp wrought in figures and sett in gould with some stones and pearles formerly Called an Aggat Cupp;" while an enamelled and jewelled "gould plate dish" may have been his paten.

A great part of this historic treasure must have been ruthlessly melted down for its metal value, or otherwise done away with. Some few oddments survived, including the Spoon, the Ampul (probably), and the Black Prince's



Wallace Collection, London.

German silver-gilt wirework crown of the 16th century, probably from a Statue of the Virgin. This illustration is of interest in connection with the entry in the Parliamentarian inventory of the Old Regalia which describes what was probably St. Edward's Crown as "of gould wyerworke sett with slight stones." (See Chapter VIII.)



National Portrait Gallery, London.

Queen Edith's Crown, lost to us in 1649 through the action of the Parliament, is supposed to be that shown in various portraits of Queen Henrietta Maria. It is seen here in a detail from a painting after Van Dyck.

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"Ruby," which will be dealt with in their respective places.

As a result of this sacrilegious looting, the Regalia had to be almost entirely new fashioned when Charles II was restored to the Throne of his fathers. Some attempt was made to preserve the traditional form of sundry Ornaments, by reference to descriptions and old pictorial records of them; but the fashion of their period is easily discernible.

How far, despite their gorgeousness, the present Regalia fall æsthetically short of the old, may be guessed from the celebrated "Alfred Jewel," now in the Ashmolean Museum. There is no positive evidence for regarding this as a piece of the Regalia, but it almost certainly belonged to Alfred himself and, at the least, was one of his privy ornaments.

Of pear-shaped formation, it is fashioned of goldsmiths' work, and contains, beneath a plate of crystal, an enamel mosaic in the likeness of the upper half of a male figure, sometimes thought to be Alfred himself, but more probably St. Neot, for whom the king had a special devotion. Around the rim is the legend: "AELFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN" (Alfred had me wrought).

This precious and beautiful object was found in 1693 at Newton Park, close to the site of Athelney Abbey, founded by Alfred himself:

the Isle of Athelney where the king took refuge from the Danes in 878.

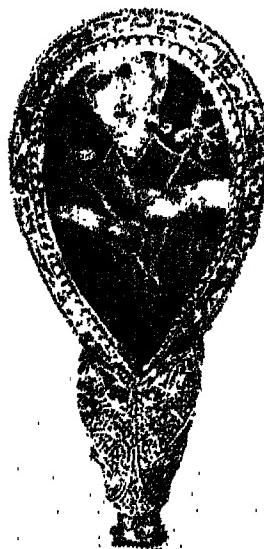
The purpose of the jewel, which is 2·4 in. long, has been often discussed. It was not a pendant, as, if so worn, the image within it would be upside down. That it could have formed any part of a "standard in battle," as has been suggested, is out of the question, while the slenderness of the attachment is also against its having surmounted a sceptre. Easier to swallow is a theory that it was once the butt of the royal stylus: a descendant of the pointed instrument used by the Romans for inscribing their wax-coated tablets. Not improbably it was actually part of a brooch pin.

Another item separated from the Royal Treasury is the so-called "Cup of the Constable," now in the British Museum. This superb gold and enamelled *banap* was in the Royal Treasury from the time of Henry VI to that of James I. It then went to Spain—luckily, as it thereby escaped the Parliamentarian holocaust—and only returned to England, by way of Paris, in our own time.

Since 1661 many alterations and additions have been effected to the Regalia, which, if somewhat unequal in splendour, are now extensive and second to none in a sum total of richness.



The Crown Imperial destroyed in 1649 is depicted in a number of portraits. It is seen here (with the Orb and Sceptre—both since lost) in a detail from the famous painting of King Charles I, by Mytens, 1631.



Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
The celebrated Alfred Jewel, made for King Alfred the Great, is an excellent illustration of the character of Anglo-Saxon jewellery. It is wrought of enamelled gold with a figure, possibly of the King himself, and was discovered near Athelney Abbey, Somerset, in 1693.

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That they fall behind the existing Regalias of some other countries in point of actual antiquity and æsthetic interest is entirely due to the unreasoning, and by no means nationally unanimous, assault upon our old

17th century items of the Crown Jewels of Sweden. A spasm of hatred and spleen was the means of robbing us of more than was lost in the horrid excesses of the French Revolution. The French at least saved the so-called Sword of Charlemagne, spurs, part of the *Main de Justice*, and the sceptre of Charles V, though none of the first three of these was improved by the "restorations" inflicted on them for Napoleon's crowning. When we lost the old St. Edward's Crown, we relinquished an ornament possibly more homogeneous than that venerable hotch-potch of fragments at Vienna, which has been long and wrongly attributed to Charlemagne; and but for the devotion of a handful of Scots, we might have been deprived of the Great Crown of Scotland itself.

So much for the damage to national pride and prestige, to irreplaceable treasures of æsthetic and antiquarian fame, which resulted from our ill-advised experiment in a republican method of government. Our cathedrals gutted, our churches despoiled, art treasures destroyed in their hundreds. Such vandalism—echo of that practised by fanatics in the name of Reformation—can never be atoned; we are poorer, and must ever regret. But let us be thankful that, in splendour alone, our Regalia are now unsurpassed. A mighty

Empire deserves its fine deckings; and of such is the Empire of Britain.

* * * *

May I tell you from pure love of the telling—it has but little to do with this



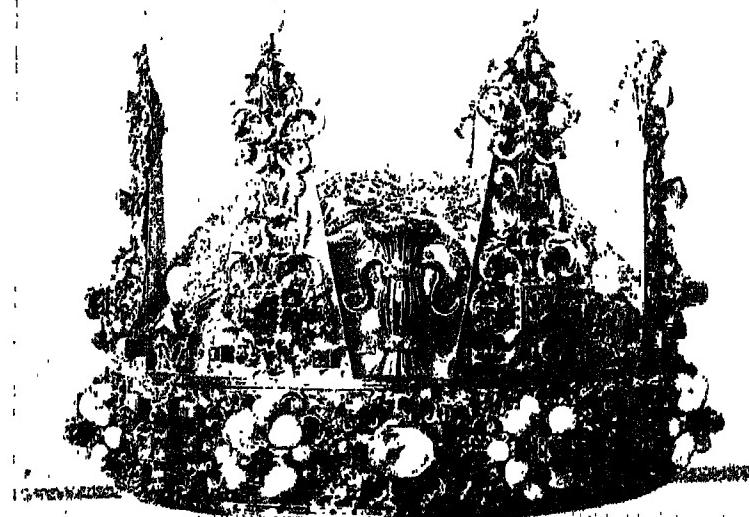
Courtesy of the British Museum.

The famous Royal Cup, enamelled with scenes from the story of St. Agnes, gives some indication of the richness in works of art of the English Royal Treasury in the Middle Ages. Dating from the late 14th century and probably of Paris make, it was an English royal possession from at least 1449 to 1604.

Crown Jewels at the Parliamentarian order. In their several ways we have nothing to compare with the Regalia of the Holy Roman Empire, with certain surviving riches of old France, Denmark, or—I am not attempting an exact list—with the 16th and

The Old Regalia and the New

chapter—how I saw the Regalia of Sweden? They are a treasure little known in this country, and that must be my excuse.



Courtesy of Baron Rudolf Cederstrom.

Superb Ornaments from the Swedish Regalia. The elaborate *krona* of the Crown Prince of Sweden which recalls an early type of rayed crown, was made by Jörgen Dargeman for Duke Charles Gustavus (afterwards Charles X), on the occasion of the Coronation of Christina of Sweden in 1650. The cap and some other details were added in 1771. The Orb of Eric XIV of Sweden (right) is engraved with a 16th century conception of a map of the world, fully revealing, thereby, the significance of this regal ornament, viz.

Christianity dominant over the Earth.

(From the originals in the Royal Treasury, Stockholm.)

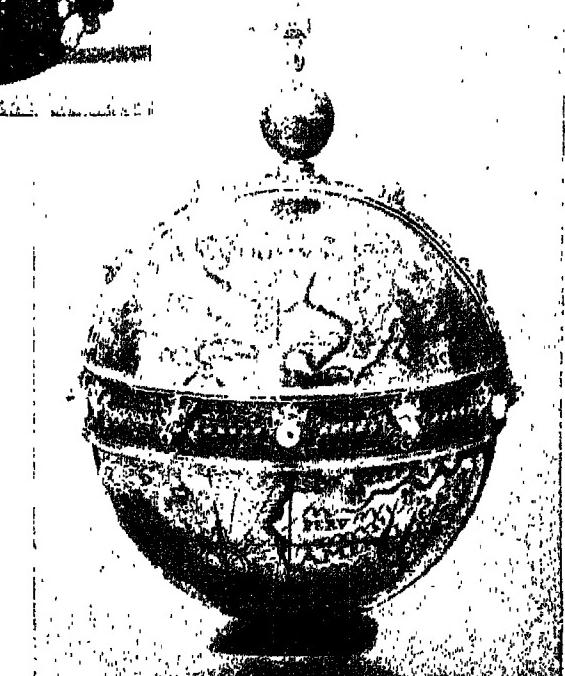
I had gone to Sweden in 1933, partly to attend one of the International Congresses of the History of Art, and partly to see something of a country to which allusions occurred in some family papers. I was reminded of the latter detail in a picturesque way.

I was walking in that lofty and imposing cathedral, the *Domkyrka* of Uppsala, feeling but sickly owing to having inhaled a deal of surface dust on the gritty journey by road. Moreover, I had upon me that peculiar sense of loneliness which sometimes besets one in a strange place.

After seeing the Cathedral treasury with its rich store of crowns, plate, costume and other relics, I paid my respects at the

shrine of St. Eric, the national saint, and was walking slowly westwards away when some instinct impelled me to pause.

There, at my feet, was a gravestone carved with the name and arms of one of the noble family of Sparre. And I suddenly recalled how, when one of my kinsfolk* chanced to be born in Stockholm in the seventeen-forties, one of his godparents was, in the words of our records, "Miss Sparr [sic] the Daughter of the Countess of Guillenborg [Gyllenborg] (who was then resident in England)." A



chance, if you please, but one which gave a queer impression of a friendly gesture from the past.

Another of the godparents mentioned was "Mrs. Leve" (Lieven), "one of the

* The Sir John Burton mentioned in Chapter XVI.

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Maids of Honour to Ulrica Queen of Sweden." Her christening gift was two silver medals "which had been presented to her" by that queen. One of these medals belongs at this day to my aunt, Blanche, Lady Swinfen. But I must not forget the Regalia.

On a fair September night, when the lights of Stockholm glittered over the dark waters of the *Norrstrom*, I attended a reception at the Royal Castle of Stockholm. After receiving the honour of a personal handshake from the Crown Prince Gustavus Adolphus, the Congress delegates passed into the *salon* known as *La Mer Blanche*.

There on a pedestal, draped with a velvet cloth powdered with the heraldic crowns of the Swedish royal arms, winked and glistened the principal ornaments of the Regalia. About the pedestal stood four breast-plated troopers with drawn swords, and clad in the buff and leather recalling the stirring age of that military hero, the great Charles XII.

Between them were no more than seven royal ornaments: the crown of Eric XIV, one of the suitors for our Queen Elizabeth, with the sceptre and orb probably made for him also; the exquisite little *smörjeborn* (equivalent to our *ampul*) made in 1606 for Charles IX; the crown and sceptre fashioned for Queen Maria Eleanora in 1620; and the

Kronprinsens krona worn by Duke Charles Gustavus (afterwards Charles X) when he attended Christina of Sweden's coronation in 1650.

Apart from their historic importance, every one of these things embodies remarkable craftwork, and none but the uttermost dunce might dispute their value as national *palladia*. The intense and legitimate pride which such toys as these can breed in a people is a direct encouragement of the conception of service in its best form. Crowns are for kings, yet they have a still wider significance as the symbols of nations. Their existence has held oppressed peoples together in moments of utter desolation. For honour's sake alone, they may not be tarnished, nor may a foul deed consort with them fitly. They stand for something beyond the hurly-burly of life: an abstraction provocative of national virtues, and of loyalties between highest and lowest.

That crimes have been committed for crowns cannot alter this truth. There is no system so perfect as cannot be defamed by hatred or impious usage. Yet it is a fact that even the most republican of nations cannot endure without its aspirations and beliefs. And if such be sooth, as it is, how dare we deny the quality of a crown as inspiring a selfless devotion?

CHAPTER VII

The Ampul and Spoon

SAVING the Stone of Destiny, no portion of the existing Regalia has a higher antiquity than the "Coronation Spoon." Like the *Ampul* (*ampulla* is Latin for a bottle or flask) it is associated with the rite of anointing the Sovereign. As one, and possibly both, of these objects escaped the Roundhead debauch of 1649, they merit our special attention.

As I have tried to make clear, the consecration of the Monarch is extremely important. Without it, indeed, a Coronation would have no validity. And in this rite the unction with oil plays a prominent part. The custom is one of extreme antiquity and there are numerous references to it in Holy Writ. As for instance:

"Then Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his head, and kissed him, and said, Is it not because the Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over his inheritance?" (*1 Samuel*, x, 1).

Or again:

"[David] said unto his men, The Lord forbid that I should do this thing unto my master, the Lord's anointed, to stretch forth mine hand against him, seeing he is the anointed of the Lord."

"So David stayed his servants with these words, and suffered them not to rise against Saul. . . ." (*1 Samuel*, xxiv, 6-7.)

From these and other verses the position is clear. A subject may not injure the Lord's anointed, nor rebel against him without sacrilege. But it does not say that God will not compass his downfall.

"And David said to Abishai, Destroy him [Saul] not: for who can stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless?

"David said furthermore, As the Lord liveth, the Lord shall smite him; or his day shall come to die; or he shall descend into battle, and perish." (*1 Samuel*, xxvi, 9-10.)

On the *vox populi, Vox Dei* principle, the British nation has exercised its right to change the line of the monarchy. Such springs from its ancient elective policy, which forms part of the making of monarchs. But both legally and morally the physical destruction of King Charles I was an outrage. A demise of the Crown rests with the Deity alone.

Such, put in the briefest way, and devoid of technical complexities, is the position of an anointed King.

"And Zadok the priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God save King Solomon." (*1 Kings*, i, 39.)

The holy oil, an elaborate compound, used for the consecration of the Hebrew monarchs, was kept in the Temple at Jerusalem. It was lost at the destruction in 586 B.C. From motives of veneration, no attempt was made to renew so sacred a thing.

Now the anointing of kings in England is very ancient; but during the Middle Ages a legend arose concerning the discovery of a special Chrism with which they were to have unction. Here it should be explained

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that two sorts of oil were used for Christian ceremonies of anointing: the simple olive oil, and the more sacred Chrism, or cream of oil and balsam, which was held to confer a particular grace. The use of the latter for the unction of kings was strictly cur-



Courtesy of the Librarian, Cambridge University Library.

This conception, by a 13th century artist, of the Coronation of St. Edward the Confessor is interesting as showing the prelate in the act of anointing the King from a vase-shaped ampul.

(From MS. Ee. III. 59. Cambridge University Library.)

tailed, England being one of the very few so dignified.

When this custom was introduced here is uncertain, but the *Liber Regalis* specifies the provision of a gold ampul for a Chrism, and one of silver for the oil. Thus it follows that a Chrism was used in England before the alleged discovery to which we are coming. Probably the conception was borrowed from France. There was preserved the

Sainte Ampoule, a vessel in the form of a dove which contained the sacred unguent. This perpetuated the legend that a vial containing the Chrism had been sent down from Heaven in the beak of a dove in the time of the Frankish king, Clovis: a tradition which we had best not examine too closely. All the same the tradition existed, and there was that unfailing curse, the *Sainte Ampoule*, to prove it! Now let us glance at the English side of the story.

In 1318 Pope John XXII wrote a letter to Edward II on this subject. It stated that while Thomas Becket was in exile in France, the Blessed Virgin appeared to him. Our Lady revealed that Becket "should die for the Church, and that the fifth King of England from the one then reigning would be a good man, and a champion of the Church of God: wherefore for him and his successors she gave to the said saint a phial with most holy oil, adding that this king would, by virtue of this oil, recover the Holy Land from the hands of the heathen."*

Now the King, whose outburst of temper brought about St. Thomas of Canterbury's death, was Henry II. Fifth King from him was Edward II, recipient of the Pope's letter, and, apparently, of "St. Thomas' Chrism" at an earlier date. In his case the

"prophecy" very demonstrably failed to come true, and, without irreverence, we may guess that its origin was less divine than was supposed.

The story, however, was afoot. If we can accept a 15th century recension of it, the Blessed Visitant appeared to Becket with a stone vial in her hand and an eagle

* Wickham Legg: *English Coronation Records*.

The Ampul and Spoon

of gold in her bosom. Having placed the vial in the eagle, The Mother gave them to Becket, with the words: "This is the oil with which the kings of England must be anointed, but not those wicked ones who now reign or will reign. . . . But kings of the English shall arise who will be anointed with this oil, who . . . will recover the lands lost by their forefathers as long as they have the eagle and phial."* With more, concerning the triumph of a king who should arise, and should have the victory "as often as he carries this eagle on his breast."† Which recalls that at translations of the *Ampoule* from the abbey of St. Remi, the sacred vessel was carried in a reliquary fashioned as a dove, which was suspended by a silver chain from the neck of the grand prior. Later, the reliquary was of circular form. (See *Sacre et Couronnement de Louis XVI*, 1775; Jones: *Crowns & Coronations*; etc.)

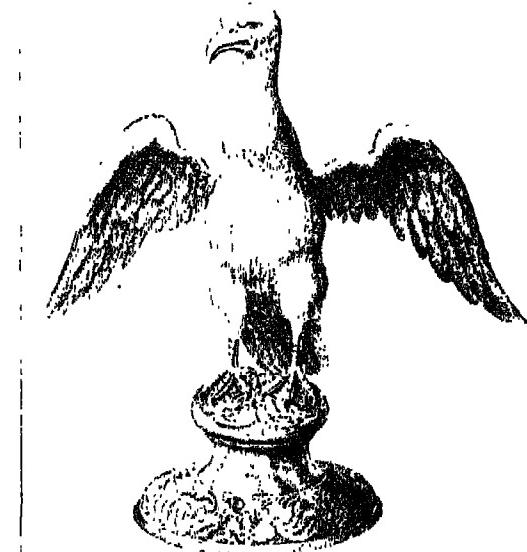
As for the eagle and vial which Becket received: these, by The Virgin's direction, were hidden in the Church of St. Gregory at Poitiers, though legends differ as to how or when the Chrism reached England. According to the later account, it came here in the time of Edward III, not Edward II—a glaring discrepancy, unless the Chrism were then renewed.

The Black Prince, who had charge of the Chrism, placed it in a strong chest in the Tower, for safety. As sometimes happens in such cases, it was so safely bestowed that it was virtually lost. Richard II found it in the Tower, and wished to receive unction with it. But he was advised that as he had already been anointed the rite should not be repeated. Such advice was at variance with the Pope's injunction to Edward II, which stated specifically that a second unction (with "St. Thomas' Chrism") would not detract from the first. But that was a long time ago, and was no doubt forgotten.

To come down to brass tacks: Richard II was not anointed with "St. Thomas' Chrism." That fact was well known to his

supplanter, Henry of Lancaster. Not to make too fine a point of it, the later recension of the Chrism legend was all to Henry's advantage. He was anointed with the Chrism, and would be therefore the great and good king of the prophecy.

In mediæval times the Chrism was used for anointing the head, the oil for the other parts of the body. Maty I, alarmed lest the



The Ampul—or vessel for the Holy Oli—though much renovated by Vyner for King Charles II's Coronation, is believed to be identical with that used before the destruction of the old Regalia in 1649, and to be in part of mediæval date. This reproduction from W. Sherwin's engraving is of particular note since it depicts the Ampul only about a quarter of a century after its "restoration."

(From Sandford's "History of the Coronation of James II.")

Chrism might have lost its efficacy owing to what she regarded as the national apostasy, obtained a fresh supply which had been blessed by the Bishop of Arras.

According to some accounts, oil only has been used since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, but she is known to have complained that the oil "was grease and smelt ill." A cream oil was employed to anoint Charles I, while the cream used for James II's unction cost no less than £200. The

* Op. cit.

† Ibid.

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17th-century Chrism was of an oriental complexity, and consisted of more than thirty ingredients.

One interesting point which has not been dealt with is that a comb was kept to smooth the Royal hair, after the imposition of the Chrism. A golden comb is mentioned in Sporley's inventory of the Confessor's Regalia, and "King Edward's Ivory Combe" is specified in King Charles I's Coronation Order. Whether or not the latter was the "old Comb of horne worth nothing" in the inventory of 1649 cannot be said. Who knows how old that particular comb may have been, and what an antiquarian treasure may then have been lost?

Meanwhile, what of the *Ampul*, or rather the *ampuls*, for as we have seen there were two. One of these, for the Chrism, was of gold; the other, for the oil, of silver.

How long the original eagle of the legend survived is too much to ask. It has been suggested that the gold *Ampul* still in the Regalia is that which was used for Henry IV's Coronation, and, consequently, the then container of "St. Thomas' Chrism." This attractive surmise must be cautiously approached.

The 1649 inventory mentions the "doue [sic] of gould sett with stones and pearle poz. 8 Ounces $\frac{1}{2}$ in a box sett with studds of siluer gilt" (£26). The existing *Ampul* is also

of gold, and weighs about 10 oz.* It is, however, patently not in its original form. The pedestal is clearly of the period of Charles II, and was no doubt made by Vyner for that King's Coronation. The wings are probably of the same date; but there is reason to suppose that the body is very much older. If so, it was chased over by Vyner to bring it into keeping with the new work.†

Whether the body is that of the *Ampul* which was catalogued by the Parliamentarians cannot be decided. But there are at least grounds for saying that it is part of a very old *Ampul*, of some sort. One prefers to think that the breaking up of the Westminster vial was interrupted, and that this part escaped by an oversight. I do not think that, under the circumstances, we are much to be blamed if we lean to that view.

For Coronation purposes the head of the eagle is unscrewed, and the oil placed in the cavity of the body.

At the unction the oil is poured through the beak of the replaced head into the Spoon, which then comes into our picture.

The "Coronation Spoon" may very well be that mentioned in Sporley's inventory, as it is more than probable that the relics



The Bishop of Gloucester carrying the Ampul at King George IV's Coronation.

(From Naylor's "The Coronation of King George IV," 1839.)

* Jackson: *Illustrated History of English Plate*.

† Davenport: *The English Regalia*; Jackson: *Illustrated History of English Plate*; Twining: *The English Regalia*, etc.

The Ampul and Spoon

of the Confessor had been augmented. If, for example, an old spoon turned up somewhere at Westminster, there would be a natural tendency to take it for a relic which had been lost. Wickham Legg adopts the view that though a much older spoon, it was not used for the Coronations before 1661; but I can see no reason why it might not have been the silver-gilt spoon weighing 3 oz., of the 1649 inventory (16s.); or the "Lunge Spooone gilte" of the inventory of 1606.

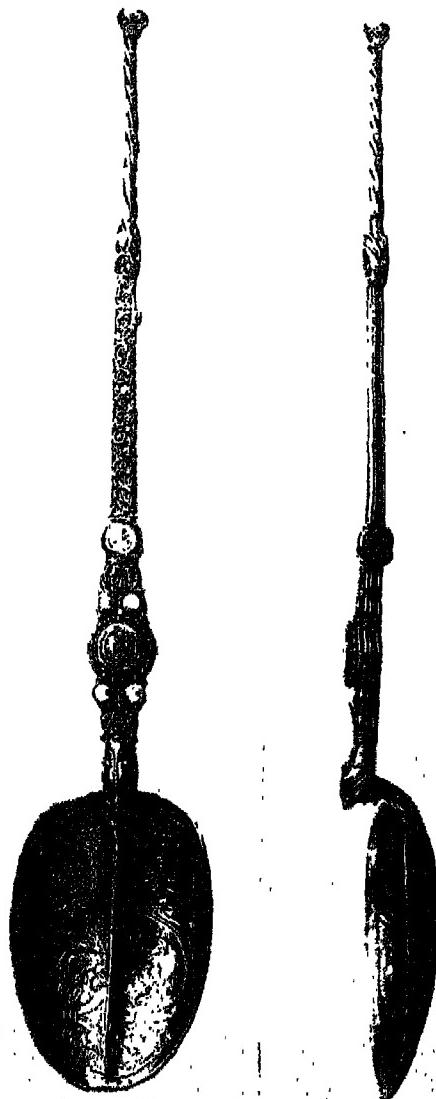
The existing Coronation spoon is of silver-gilt, 10½ in. long, and weighs 3 oz. 8 dwt.* It is distinctly a long spoon, and in 1606, when spoon bowls were not far short of circular, would have seemed very much longer.

That is, if the handle and bowl are contemporary. Beyond manner of doubt, the handle is of late 12th- or early 13th-century date. It shows characteristic work of that period, and, in addition, an early form of junction with the bowl. This "elbow," a variety of the "keel and disk" method of attachment, has a tradition back to classical antiquity.

The bowl is more difficult. Its ornament is in the style of the period, but the shape of the bowl is not quite like anything else. It has been very stupidly suggested that the Spoon was new made for Charles II's Coronation. This theory was based on an item of £2 which, Sir Charles Jackson remarked, would have been absurdly inadequate [?]. The Spoon is of silver-gilt, set with four pearls, and was originally richly enamelled. But the question is: Could the bowl have been added? Was the old handle alone rescued like the body of the *Ampul*?

On this point authorities are divided. But one fact should be emphasized. This is a spoon made for a particular purpose. Its peculiar twin-channelled section is to accommodate the two fingers of the Archbishop administering unction. As such, it is an interesting instance of functional design, or, shall we say, "fitness for purpose." It should be noted that Sir

Charles Jackson, whose opinion on plate was always worth having, stated in his



Courtesy of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

The Coronation Spoon is the oldest surviving item of the Regalia and plays an important part in the anointing of the monarch. The handle dates from the late 12th or early 13th century.

(from "The English Regalia," by Cyril Davenport.)

great Illustrated History of English Plate

* Jackson: *op. cit.*

Coronation Cavalcade

that it was possible, but very improbable, that the bowl had been remade. Contrariwise, the *Authorised Guide*, familiar to visitors to the Tower, takes the view that the bowl was "restored" for Charles II's Coronation. And, among other opinions, Dr. Beard kindly permits me to state his conviction, based upon research, that whereas the handle is of the first quarter of the 13th century, the bowl belongs to the second half of the 17th.

Other allusions to the ceremony of anointing The King will occur in Chapter

XIII. Meanwhile let us remark, and not without reverence, that this, the holiest part of our Coronation ceremony, is performed with the aid of Ornaments which, if deduction be warranted, were almost the sole pieces of the Regalia to escape one of the outstanding acts of historical vandalism. Time was when such preservation from the basest of risks would have been regarded as a sign of divine intervention. Whether we do so or not depends upon our individual outlook and beliefs; but we can, at the least, express gratitude.

CHAPTER VIII

The Crowns

WHEN Mr. William Hutton of Birmingham paid his memorable visit to London in 1784, on a matter of legal business, he whiled away part of his leisure by inspecting the Crown Jewels in the Tower of London. As affording a glimpse of how the Regalia were then shown to visitors, his account is of interest.

"My conductor," he says, "led me to a door in an obscure corner, and rang a bell. After waiting a short time, another door on our left flew open, and we entered a dismal hole, resembling the cell of the condemned. Two wretched candles, just lighted up, added to the gloom. By these dull tapers, which made 'darkness visible,' the room appeared about twelve feet square, divided in the centre by iron pallisades, which extended to the ceiling. The lady of this dark mansion stood on one side, the warder and I on the other. She opened a small press, and in that tone of voice universally adopted by raree showmen, observed, 'This is the imperial crown of England, with which all [*sic*] the kings have been crowned, from [*sic*] Edward the Confessor. . . .'"

We cannot echo the saga which Mr. Hutton thereupon declaims over what he terms the "important bauble," because we have seen that what was called "King Alfreds Crowne" (but was much more probably the old St. Edward's Crown) "of gould wyerworke sett with slight stones, and 2 little bells," disappeared into thin air in 1649. Presumably what was shewn to Hutton as such in 1784 was the "St. Edward's Crown" specially made by Sir

Robert Vyner for Charles II's Coronation in 1661. This was nominally fashioned more or less in the manner of the ancient crown, though but little reliance can be placed upon this detail. Nevertheless it arouses a curious train of thought.

There are two schools of opinion regarding the St. Edward's Crown which disappeared in 1649. Both have received influential support from men who are qualified to express an opinion. One is that the so-called "King Alfreds Crowne" was veritably St. Edward's, as mentioned above, and, apart from possible minor alterations, that actually worn by the latter monarch. Moreover, it was, or may have been, the crown arched over by Henry IV.

The contrary view, as expressed by Lethaby and other writers, is that St. Edward's Crown was actually redesigned for Henry IV, which apparently involves the supposition that it may then have been entirely refashioned.

If so, what was "King Alfreds Crowne" as inventoried by the Parliament? Its description has the tang of an early piece, though "wyerworke" need not necessarily be such. Similarly, that this crown was set with "slight stones," does not tell us anything material as to its date, though they may not suggest the ambitions of our first Lancastrian king.

Let us admit that, if the new "St. Edward's Crown" made for Charles II veritably embodied a reminiscence of its predecessor, it suggests nothing whatever of Saxon design. In the alternation of crosses paty and fleurs-de-lys on its upper rim, it is reminiscent of mediæval motifs. Yet

Coronation Cavalcade

the shape of the arches is quite dissimilar from anything made at the time of Henry IV or for long afterwards.

We are thus faced with the following conclusions: (1) Charles II's "Crown of St. Edward" was not truly based in design on its predecessor at all; (2) if it were so, that Crown had been very much altered, if not remade, at some rather late mediæval period; (3) that "King Alfreds Crowne" was not the old Crown of St. Edward, the latter having vanished from the Regalia in some way yet to be explained.

There are several objections to the last alternative, as even if the crown had been actually that of Alfred the Great, it might very well have descended to the Confessor and been worn by him. Traditions of such a crown of Alfred exist, in more than one source. Sir John Spelman has left a description (at second-hand) of the crown at Westminster which went by that name, and which may be used to supplement the account in the Parliamentarian inventory:

"I know not why we may conjecture that the king [Alfred] fell upon the composing of an imperial crown—for in the arched room in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey where the antient regalia of this kingdom are kept, upon a box which is the cabinet to the antientest crown, there is (as I am informed) an inscription to this purpose, *Hac est principalior corona cum qua corona bantur reges Alfredus, Edwardus, &c.,* and the crown (which to this purpose were worth

the observing) is of a very antient work, with flowers adorned with stones of somewhat a plain setting."

Qualified opinion, however, now inclines to the view that, both here and in the Parliamentarian inventory, the title of "King Alfreds Crowne" is a misnomer. But I mention the fantastic possibility indicated in (3) for the following reason. Were the old Crown of St. Edward not destroyed

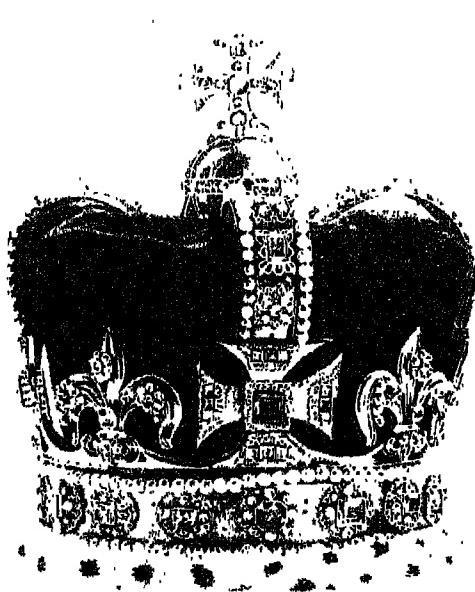
in 1649, it might be because it was not then in the Regalia at Westminster at all. Supposing "King Alfreds Crowne" were simply some old diadem which had become known by that romantic title; or which had been placed there to mislead the Parliament officers, what time the real Sacred Crown was removed to some borune whence it has yet to return! Does it still lie concealed in some English Kinness?

Was its place taken by some crown like that shown on p. 50 (top)? But no!

All the known evidence suggests that "King Alfreds Crowne" was really a Crown of St.

Edward, but whether the latter was the original Ornament or one refashioned for Henry IV is a different matter. I think it improbable that so sacred a relic would have been destroyed by that monarch. He was anxious to consolidate his claim to the throne, and the loss of this Crown would have been detrimental and publicly noted as such.

But there is a stronger reason to doubt the refashioning of St. Edward's Crown by Henry IV. As has been previously noted,



Courtesy of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.

St. Edward's Crown, made for King Charles II by Sir Robert Vyner to replace the Anglo-Saxon Crown of the Confessor. Historically, if not intrinsically, the most important Crown in the Regalia, it is used at Coronations only.

(From "The English Regalia," by Cyril Davenport.)

The Crowns

some of the Confessor's coins and his Great Seal show the King wearing close crowns of various types. If, therefore, the Confessor's crown were of such a build, why should Henry of Lancaster re-arch it? This is a serious objection, not lightly to be overcome. It suggests that any crown arched over by Henry was not St. Edward's, but a State Crown.

Wherefore, since the stylistic evidence of the "St. Edward's Crown" made for Charles II is extremely weak for any period save its own, it seems highly probable that the "King Alfreds Crowne" lost in 1649 was actually that of the Confessor himself. There, failing fresh and convincing evidence to the contrary, the problem can be allowed to rest.

In many respects Vyner's "St. Edward's Crown" tells its actual period clearly. Nevertheless, it is an interesting piece of its time. As a veritable successor of the Confessors' vanished diadem, and inheritant by adoption of its talismanic virtues, it is for us the Sacred Crown of England.

If somewhat altered since Charles II's time it remains in much the same state as in 1685,* though, at the accession of William and Mary, it was reported to have been dismantled of its jewels.† The cap in this Crown is of purple velvet, turned up with miniver.

Besides the new "St. Edward's Crown," a Crown Imperial was made for Charles II. The frame of this still exists, though no longer with the Regalia. It is on loan to



The Marquess of Anglesey, as Lord High Steward of England, carrying St. Edward's Crown at the Coronation of King George IV.

(From Nayler's "The Coronation of King George IV. 1839.")

There, failing fresh and convincing evidence to the contrary, the problem can be allowed to rest.

minster Hall, where, owing to its weight, it was exchanged for a lighter crown,

*The Globe and Cross on it were then remade. (E. Alfred Jones: *The Old Royal Plate in the Tower of London*.) A theory has been advanced, partly on the strength of an engraving of dubious value in Walker's *Preparations*, that the Crown itself has been remade or reshaped since Charles II's time; but the documentary evidence adduced by E. Alfred Jones (*op. cit.*) suggests that nothing more serious than the customary "setting and adorning" for each Coronation was performed.

†As were "Queen Edith's Crown," Mary of Modena's State Crown and Diadem, and the queen's Sceptre (*Planche*). In 1725 "St. Edward's Crown," the above, and other items were set with false stones (C. C. Oman). According to *Chapters on Coronations* (1838): "On the day of coronation, the jewels and precious stones belonging to the Crown of State, . . . are taken out, fixed in collets, and pinned into the imperial [i.e. "St. Edward's"] Crown; their places are supplied by mock stones, when the ceremony of the coronation is concluded."

the London Museum from Lord Amherst of Hackney. The framework is of silver (whereas that of "St. Edward's" is gold), but there are gold settings for the gems which were removed for re-usage.

With it, and belonging to the same owner, is displayed the silver framework—originally gilt—of the tall State Crown fashioned for George IV by the then court jewellers, Rundell and Bridge, in 1821. When set with all its jewels, this was valued at £150,000, and weighed no less than 5 lb. George wore it on his return from the Abbey to West-

Coronation Cavalcade

also made by Rundell and Bridge. This latter, which was set with loaned jewels, was broken up after the ceremony. (W. Jones.)

The Imperial State Crown as known today was originally fashioned by Rundell and Bridge for Queen Victoria's Coronation in 1838, the then extant Crown being

too large and heavy for Her Majesty's wear. The new Crown, the arches of which are fashioned as oak leaves and acorns, was, however, set with the jewels from it, to which a number more were added.

To the eye the State Crown looks rich enough, but just how rich it is can only be appreciated if one goes into figures. In Queen Victoria's time this Imperial Ornament contained the *astonishing total of no fewer than 3,093 gems and pearls* of various sorts, set in silver and gold, including the Black Prince's balas, the "Stuart" and other sapphires, rubies, emeralds, various diamonds and pearls. Among these Professor Tennant enumerated 1,363 brilliant diamonds, 1,273 rose diamonds and 273 pearls.

For Edward VII's Coronation the Crown was enlarged, and the number of gems and pearls increased while a further alteration took place when the largest "Star of Africa" was inserted in it.* Such a Crown must be one of the most intrinsically valuable ever fashioned, and may well occupy the premier position in that respect.

Of the great gems in this Crown, by far the most historically

By kind permission of Lord Amherst of Hackney and the London Museum.

State Crowns of the past. (Left to right from top) King Charles II, King George IV, Queen Adelaide, and Queen Alexandra. The last is of platinum reset with paste and was given to the London Museum by Queen Alexandra.

* *Authorised Guide to the Tower of London* (1916 Edition).

The Crowns

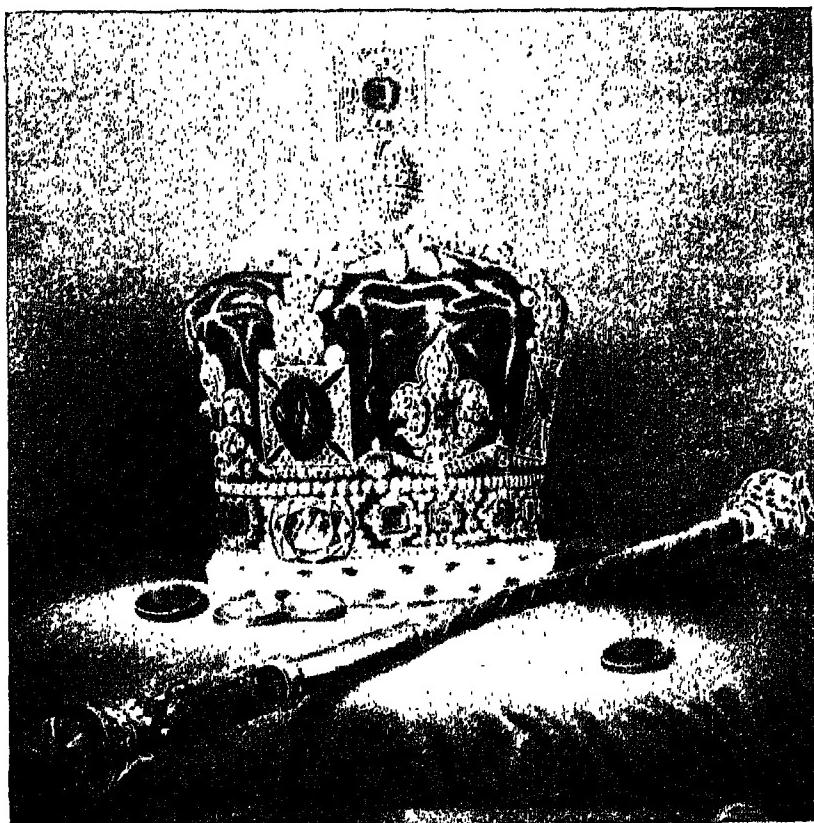
important is the Black Prince's so-called "ruby." This, the great balas of the records, was in the possession of the King of Granada, whom Pedro the Cruel enticed to the Alcazar at Seville, under a promise of safe-conduct, before murdering him for the sake of his jewels.

After the Battle of Navarete in 1367, Pedro gave the "ruby" to his ally, the Black Prince, who brought it to England. Henry V removed it from the Crown Imperial, called "Great Harry," and, so it is said, had it set in the crown on the bascinet (helmet) which he wore at Agincourt. Legend has it that, on that memorable St. Crispin's Day, the balas was in the *fleuron* which was shorn by Alençon from King Harry's crown in the battle. Queen Elizabeth proudly displayed it, a "fair ruby great like a rocket-ball," to the ambassador of Mary, Queen of Scots; which, as Beard remarks, shows that it was not then set in the Crown Imperial. It was, however, the "verye great ballace perced," which is recorded as being in the Imperial Crown in James I's time.* For the balas is pierced in the oriental manner, the hole being filled with a small ruby.

Under the Commonwealth the balas was sold for £4, being then apparently loose and "wrapt in paper." Luckily, it was eventually recovered and restored to the Regalia. For William and Mary's Coronation it was set in the Queen's Crown, and it now

occupies the Cross in the front of the State Crown. That it should be placed in such a position is consistent with much of its history.

In Queen Victoria's time, the position on the band, immediately below the Black Prince's "ruby" was occupied by the "Stuart"



The Imperial State Crown made by Rundell and Bridge for Queen Victoria's Coronation in 1838, and slightly altered since. It is of enormous intrinsic value for its gems, which include the Black Prince's so-called "Ruby," a "Star of Africa" diamond, the "Stuart" sapphire and that attributed to the Confessor's Ring. In front lies the King's Sceptre with the Cross.

sapphire.† This is said to have been in Charles II's Crown (the framework of which is in the London Museum). It was among the jewels which James II retained in his exile, though the stone eventually

* St. John Hope: *The King's Coronation Ornaments* (*The Ancestor*).

† Garrard's, 1721-1911; Younghusband and Davenport: *The Crown Jewels of England*; Twining: *The English Regalia*; etc.

Coronation Cavalcade

came into the possession of George IV. The latter gave it to his daughter, Princess Charlotte of Wales, claiming it back, as a crown jewel, on her death in 1817. According to that scandalous gossip, Greville, it was worn by George's mistress, Lady Conyngham, in her headdress at a ball held at (the old) Devonshire House in June, 1821, not much more than a month before the King's Coronation.

King Edward VII had the "Stuart" sapphire removed to the back of the band of the Crown, to make way for the great diamond now set there.* This splendid gem, which weighs $309\frac{1}{2}$ carats, is the second largest part of the historic "Cullinan Diamond," discovered at the Premier Mine, near Pretoria, in January, 1905. Named after Sir T. M. Cullinan, chairman of the company (who died as recently as August 23, 1936), this prodigious stone weighed no less than $3,025\frac{1}{2}$ carats, approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in its rough state, was about 4 in. long, by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, by $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep. Presented to King Edward VII by the Government of South Africa in 1907, this veritable half-brick of preciousness was cut into a number of brilliants, the largest of which was set in the Sceptre Royal.

Pendent from the junctions of the imperial arches of the State Crown are four large pear-shaped pearls, which, according to Younghusband and Davenport, are said to have come from earrings of Queen Elizabeth.

The sapphire in the Cross of the State Crown is reputedly that which formerly adorned Edward the Confessor's cramp-ring. We can believe this, if we so choose, though there is no proving the legend, for if the sapphire came indeed from the ring, it was recut in "rose" form at the Restoration.†

* *Ibid.*; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

† Wm. Jones: *Crowns & Coronations*; Davenport: *The English Regalia*; Younghusband and Davenport: *op. cit.*; Twining; *op. cit.*; etc.

‡ In their interesting book, *The Crown Jewels of England*, Younghusband and Davenport, note that apparently "the King is not allowed to take his

The cap of maintenance worn within the State Crown is of purple velvet, turned up with miniver. It goes without saying that purple, has a lengthy association with imperiality, for which reason the cap of the Imperial Crown of India is likewise of that hue.

Though Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India at Delhi on January 1, 1877, no Crown was provided for that Imperiate until a third of a century later. This somewhat natural deficiency was made good when King George V decided to hold his Durbar at Delhi, the which historic event was solemnized in 1911. Now, "St. Edward's Crown" is *the* Crown of England, where it remains *in perpetuo*, nor might the State Crown be removed from the country.‡ Moreover, if the Kingdom of Scotland had its own Great Crown, and the Tsars of Russia an accumulation of monarchical headgear arising out of their acquisition of numerous territories, why should not the Empire of India be similarly graced? And so Messrs. Garrard and Co., Ltd., the Crown Jewellers, fashioned the Crown which King George V wore at the Delhi Durbar.§

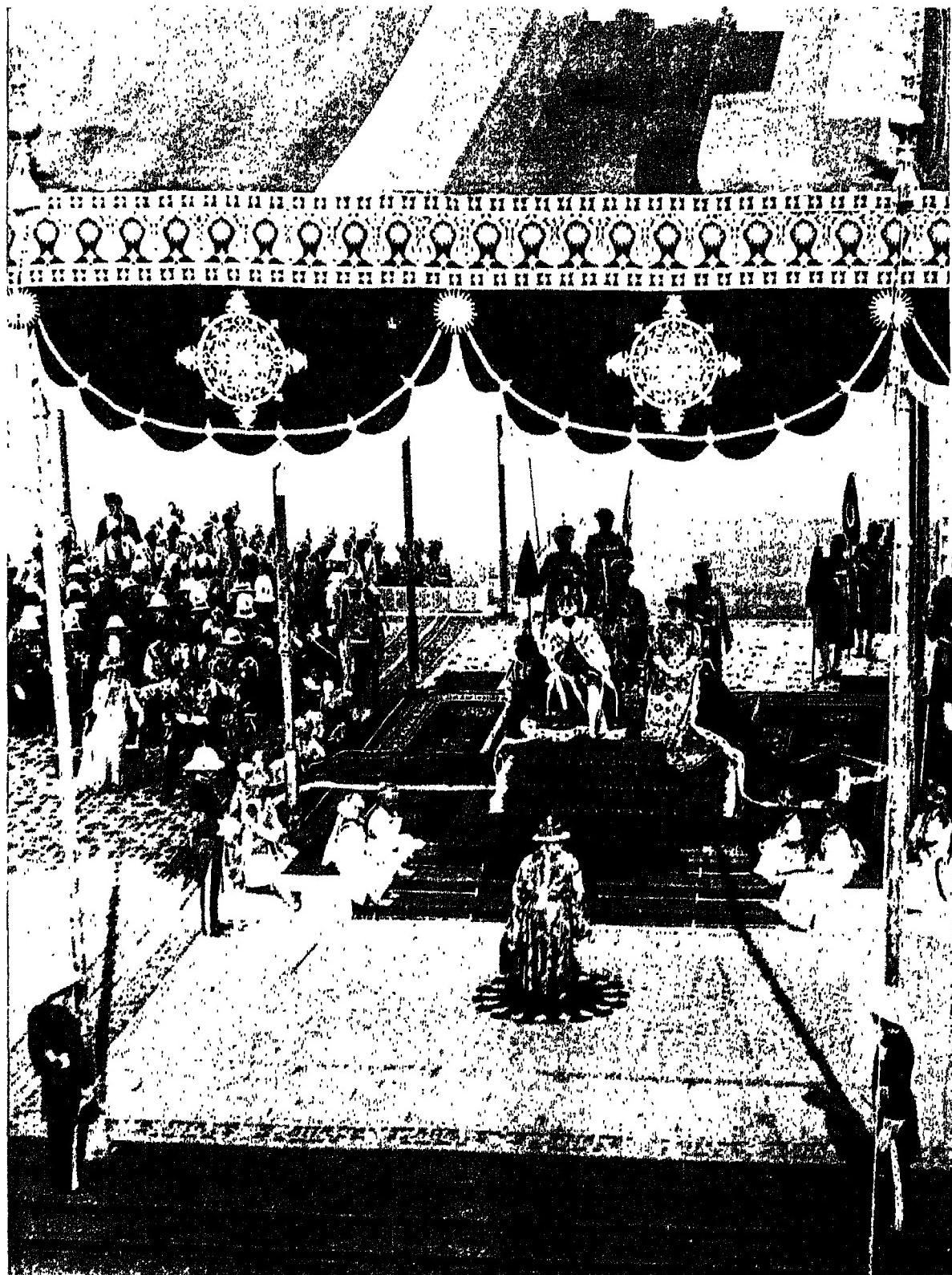
When King George VI visits his Indian Empire, as Sovereign, this is the Crown that he will wear for his Durbar.

Though this elegant Ornament is based in design on the State Crown, it differs from it in various respects, notably in the more swan-necked shape of the arches, and the way in which they knuckle over at their junction beneath the ball and the Cross. A more or less similar arching has been used for the Crowns of H.M. Queen Mary and her predecessor, Queen Alexandra. Apart from other stones, there are over 6,000 diamonds in the Imperial Crown of India.|| The main objection to Ornaments so heavily

crown out of England." It is, however, better to keep the Sacred and State Crowns separate. The need for a Crown in India now first arose. (See also *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; and Younghusband: *The Jewel House*.)

§ Younghusband and Davenport: *op. cit.*; Twining.

|| *Illustrated London News*, 16/12/1911.



KING GEORGE V AND QUEEN MARY AT THE DELHI DURBAR IN DECEMBER, 1911.
The King is wearing the Imperial Crown of India, made specially for the occasion.

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encrusted with gems as are these, is that they afford but little chance to display such fine goldsmithery as was customary at some earlier epochs.

Of the Queen-Consorts' State Crowns, the oldest in the Regalia is attributed to Mary of Modena, wife of King James II. With it is preserved her diadem, which she wore on her way to Coronation. Fashioned of gold, and set with diamonds and pearls, the diadem is provided with a crimson velvet cap, turned up with miniver.

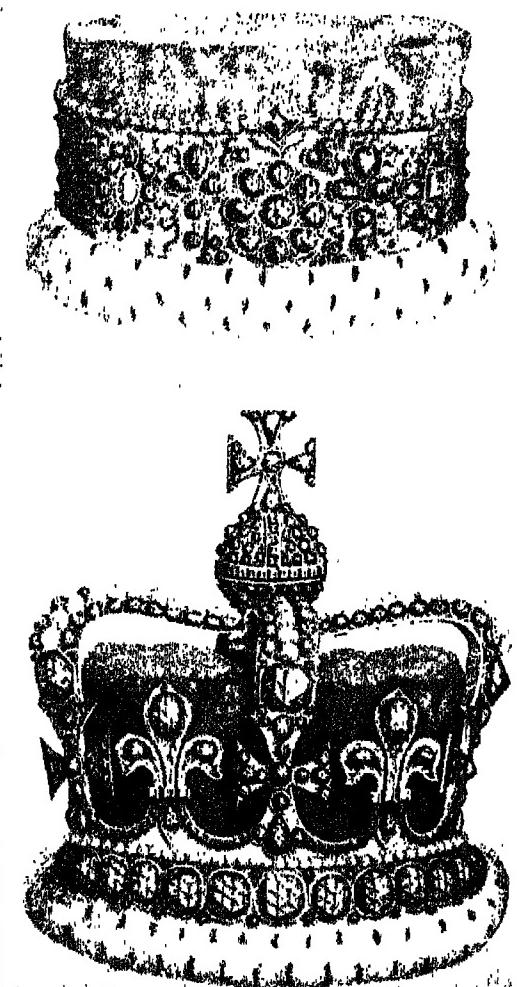
For her actual Coronation, a replacement of the vanished "Queen Edith's Crown" was used. This has since been destroyed; but on leaving the Abbey, after the Coronation, Mary of Modena wore the Crown supposed to be that which now passes under her name. In his *Old Royal Plate*, E. Alfred Jones adduced documentary evidence to show that this Crown was wholly remade for the Coronation of Mary II; though other writers adhere to the view that it was merely altered.

The silver framework of the Crown which Queen Adelaide had set with her own jewels at her own expense, is on loan to the

London Museum from Lord Amherst of Hackney. Near it is displayed, among the Royal Gifts to the London Museum, the platinum frame of Queen Alexandra's Crown, reset with paste.

Her Majesty Queen Mary, the illustrious Consort of King George V, and noble Queen-Mother of King George VI, was provided with an elegant State Crown, made by Messrs. Garrard for the Coronation in 1911.* Set entirely with diamonds, it is lined with a cap of imperial purple, turned up with miniver. The pear-shaped diamond in the Cross is one of the parts of the Cullinan stone, as is the square-cut brilliant in the front of the band. In a *cross paty*, directly above this, is set one of the most historic gems in the world, the talismanic *Kob-i-Noor*—the "Mountain of Light."

Legends cluster thickly around this magnificent diamond, some claiming for it a known antiquity of many thousands of years. That is a matter of fable, but the stone appears to have been an heirloom in the family of the Rajah of



Mary of Modena's State Crown and Circlet. The Crown, later enriched or remade for the Coronation of Queen Mary II, is the oldest but one of the Crowns still preserved in the Regalia and is here seen in its original condition. The Circlet was worn by the Queen on her way to Coronation.

(From the contemporary engravings by W. Sharwin, in Sandford's "History of the Coronation of James II," 1687.)

Malwa, whence it was brought to Delhi as loot in the time of the powerful Sultan

* Garrard's, 1711-1911; Younghusband and Davenport; Twining; etc.

The Crowns

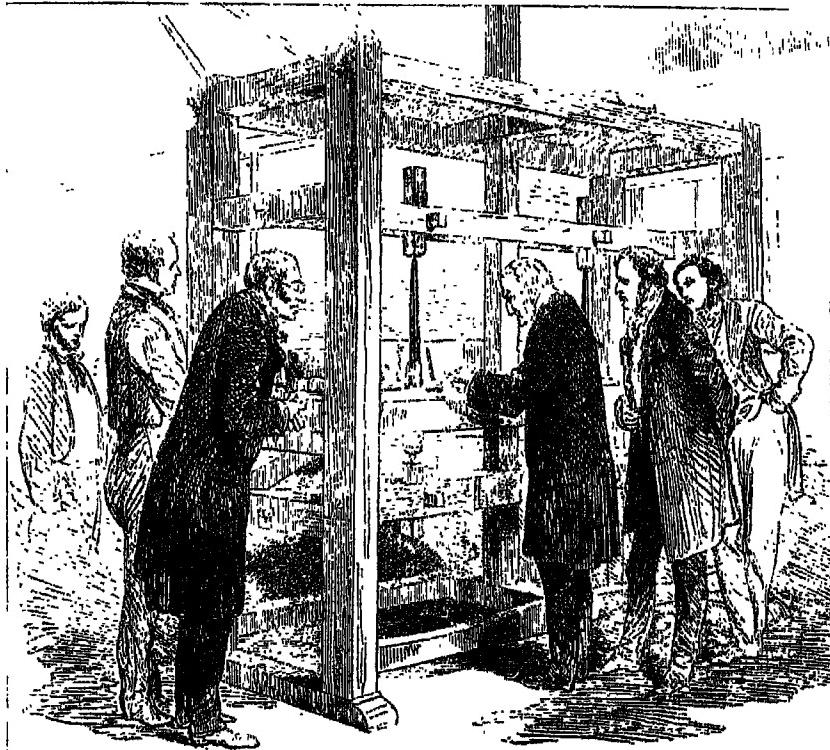
Ala-ud-din, who was poisoned in 1315. It was in Delhi when Babar, the first of the Mogul (Mughal) emperors, took that city in 1526. At one time it is supposed to have been set in the Peacock Throne of the Moguls. It was yet in Delhi when the Persian Nadir Shah invaded the empire and sacked that city with extreme thoroughness in 1739.

That is to say, the *Koh-i-Noor* was some-

exchange turbans with him: a gesture of amity which could not be refused without a gross breach of courtesy. Mohammed had no resource but to comply. The proprieties were satisfied; so too was Nadir, who, on beholding the stone, uttered the exclamation which gave its name to the diamond. (*Streeter*.)

In 1747 Nadir was murdered. After passing through other ownerships, the diamond was secured in 1833 by that great "Lion of the Punjab," Ranjit Singh himself, who wore it in an armlet, now in the Tower; and when the second Sikh War closed in 1849 with our annexation of the Punjab, the stone came into the hands of the British *Raj*.

To "John Company" the *Koh-i-Noor* proved an embarrassment. They could not make up their minds what should be done with it. According to a delightful anecdote told by R. Bosworth Smith in his *Life of Lord Lawrence* (6th Edition, 1885), it was left in the charge of Sir John Lawrence,



The Duke of Wellington performing the initial operation in the re-cutting of the famous *Koh-i-Noor* diamond, in 1852. The stone was later placed in the Crown of the Queen-Consort.

where about—but could not be found. Relatively, the position was like that of the Honours of Scotland at Dunnottar Castle in 1652. The outcome, however, was completely different. Nadir Shah got wind of the secret that Mohammed Shah, the defeated Emperor, whom Nadir reinstated as puppet King of Delhi, had the stone concealed in the folds of his turban.

Nadir meant having the *Koh-i-Noor*, and, to that end, resorted to stratagem. He invited Mohammed to feast, and offered to

who slipped it into his waistcoat pocket and forgot about it for a matter of six weeks. Eventually it was offered to Queen Victoria, who accepted the gem. It had been badly cut in the past, and after arriving in Europe, in 1850, was brought to its present condition. The recutting (as illustrated) took place in 1852, the positioning of the instrument for the plane of the first facet being performed by the Iron Duke. (*Illustrated London News*, Vol 21, 1852.)

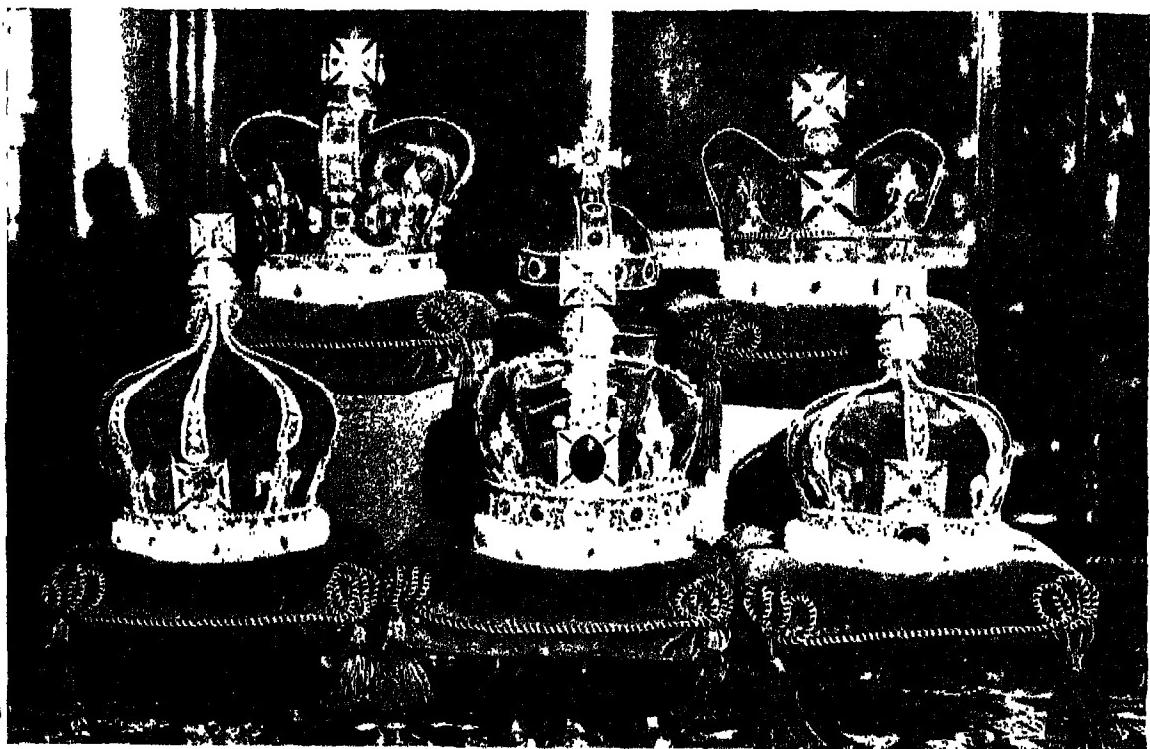
As possession of the *Koh-i-Noor* is

Coronation Cavalcade

legendarily supposed to connote Indian sovereignty, it might be thought that an appropriate setting for the diamond would be in the Imperial Crown of India; but there is a traditional reason why this should not have been done. The stone is held to be unlucky to men, and therefore would be an ominous symbol in the Crown of an

peoples would immediately see in the happening a presage of the decay of our *Raj*, and thence would arise very serious trouble. We should meet it, of course; but such a misfortunate *contretemps* need not arise. Preserved as it is, the "Mountain of Light" is in some sense a bulwark of Peace.

The Prince of Wales has more than one



Replicas of the principal Crowns and the Orb made for the Dominions in connection with the Coronation of King George VI. (Front row from left) Queen Mary's Crown, State Crown, Imperial Crown of India. (Back row) St. Edward's Crown, The Orb, Prince of Wales' Crown.

Emperor. But over women the stone has no hold; wherefore Queen Victoria wore it in a brooch, since when it has been placed in the Crown of the Queen-Consort, who is also Empress-Consort of India.

The history of the *Koh-i-Noor* reveals various instances in which its loss has more or less coincided with the fall of the power of its owner. That one of these happenings was a natural corollary of the other needs no explanation; but the fact remains that were the *Koh-i-Noor* to be lost to us through any cause whatsoever, the Indian

Crown. That proper to him as eldest son of the King is of imperial type, with a single arch. It is not set with stones, but is ornamented with jewels worked in the metal. The crimson velvet cap is turned up with miniver. For the origin of this type of Prince of Wales' Crown we have to look back to King Charles II, who in 1660 authorized the addition of the arch to a circlet.* But the Prince of Wales' Crown preserved in the Tower is of early 18th-

* Wm. Jones; Davenport; etc.

The Crowns

century date. I respect it for what it is, and would have it preserved as a relic, though, in my humble opinion, it is not nearly splendid enough for the dignity it typifies. When next a Prince of Wales is called upon to assume his Crown as a King's eldest son, I should like to see an Ornament designed by some first-rate artist with an intimate knowledge of the goldsmith's craft.

For the Prince of Wales, as such, there are separate ensigns which are preserved in the Principality. The insignia used at the investiture of King Edward VIII as Prince of Wales at Carnarvon in 1911, were specially designed by Sir W. Goscombe John, R.A., and executed by Messrs. Garrard. They consist of an open Circlet, Virge, Ring, Sword, and Clasp for the purple velvet mantle, the gold of the Virge at any rate having been mined in Wales.

Mention of which circlet recalls that of diamonds made for Queen Victoria, shortly after her accession, and used by her for certain state ceremonies. This elegant open crown of Gothic design was that worn by Queen Mary when she accompanied King George V to the opening of his first Parliament in February, 1911. (Jackson, *op. cit.*)

In connection with King George VI's Coronation, it is interesting to note that replicas of the most important Crowns have been fashioned for the Dominions. The idea is excellent and will enable millions of our cousins overseas to share with us, more closely than would otherwise be possible, the glories of the Regalia as perpetual symbols of the Empire's greatness.

As various allusions have been made to caps of maintenance, some brief discussion

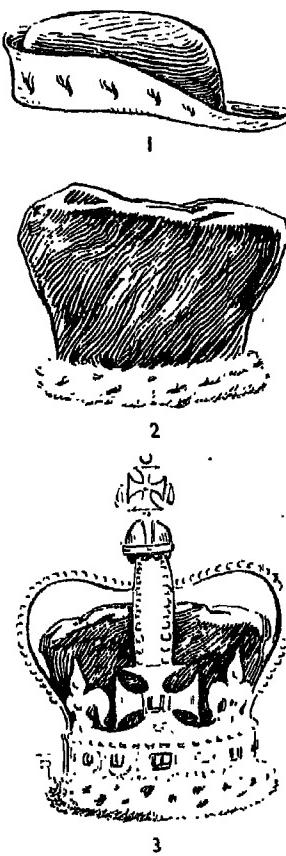
of this feature is necessary. Those who desire full technicalities had better consult St. John Hope's valuable paper on the subject in Wickham Legg's *English Coronation Records*; but for present purposes a very brief summary of the leading facts will suffice. For some, though not all, of these, I am indebted to St. John Hope's study.

Nowadays the cap of maintenance—or cap of estate, to give its alternative title—has become almost exclusively associated with the lining of crowns and coronets. Rightly, however, these "trimmings" possess independent existence.

Apparently Edward III was the first of our kings to use the cap of estate, possibly in his capacity as Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine. (It will be found in Chapter XVIII that the strange figures personating the "Dukes" of Normandy and Aquitaine down to quite late Coronations were provided with such headgear.)

As St. John Hope shows in the work cited above, from being a regal appurtenance, the cap was next extended to royal dukes, who were invested with a cap of estate, with a jewelled circlet and a sword. Later the privilege of the cap, and/or other ornaments, was accorded to lower ranks of the nobility, the last to receive the cap being the baronage in 1661.

It is thus in itself a mark of dignity, and not merely a manner of making a crown or coronet look a little more colourful. For instance, when the King goes to the Abbey for his Coronation, he wears nothing on his head but his Cap of Estate. This is removed to make way for his crowning; but when he assumes his Robes of Estate at the end of the Coronation, he technically restores his cap,



EVOLUTION OF THE CAP OF STATE

1. Medieval; with brim turned flat at back.
2. Later and fuller type; with brim turned up all round.
3. As worn within a Crown to-day.

Coronation Cavalcade

now represented by that within the Imperial Crown.

St. John Hope pointed out one late discrepancy in the ritual, which is easy enough to understand if one pauses to think for a moment. "The crown which is placed on the King's head by the Archbishop at his crowning, and that wherewith the Queen Consort is crowned, should therefore be a crown pure and simple, and not the cap of estate surmounted by a crown." Why? Because the cap has been already removed to make way for the unction, and the cap "lining" is thus superfluous.

The form of the cap of maintenance was

much better in its earlier days. It was then turned up with ermine at the front only, the brim thence declining rearwards until a horizontal tail was reached. In the existing form, the brim is rolled up all round, so as neatly to "finish" the lower rim of the Crown. It is this that gives the loose "velvet bag" so much the air of a lining. It has, moreover, the unfortunate effect of considerably altering the true appearance of an open crown or coronet, though if properly shaped it would not do this. The gold bullion tassel now surmounting the cap for peccage purposes was another ill-advised "improvement."

CHAPTER IX

The Sceptre and Orbs

NO more ancient symbol of power and dominion exists than the staff. The branch torn from a tree by primitive man, with its dual qualities of a weapon and support, quite naturally developed into an emblem of dignity. As such, it takes priority of the sword; for long before swords were invented, the staff or club must have been the mainstay of the "Old Man" of tribal communities.

The word "sceptre" as applied to a regal ornament is derived from the Greek *skeptron*, initially meaning a "staff or stick to lean upon," and secondarily, a staff or baton as a badge of command. To the Latins, this became *sceptrum*; and so to the term

that we know. On many occasions, sceptre and staff were differentiated, and so are found in the first known English Coronation Order, where the terms *sceptrum* and *baculum* (walking staff) are employed. In form, the kingly sceptre, as opposed to the staff, is more suggestive of a mace. Sceptres

are shown on Byzantine coins back to approximately the time of Justinian. In ancient countries like Egypt, their history is very extensive.

The Saxon kings used sceptres of various types, that of Ethelred the Redless having been seemingly a plain rod surmounted by a trinity of pearls; while the Great Seal and coins of Edward the Confessor show him sometimes with a sceptre surmounted by the figure



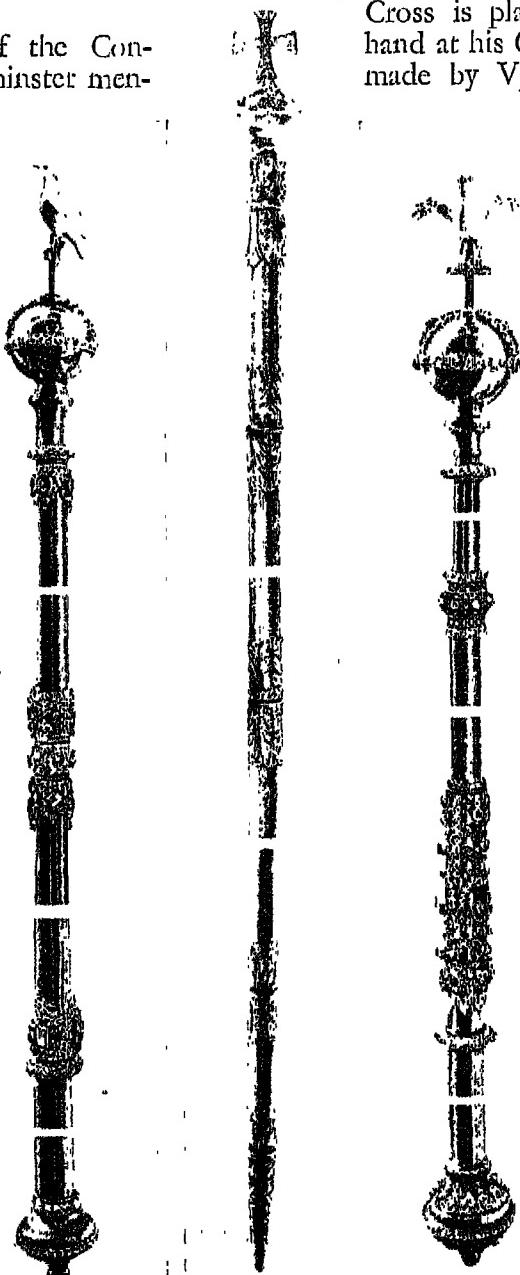
Photo: W. & D. Downey.
King George V bearing the King's Sceptre with the Cross and the Orb, and Queen Mary holding (left hand) the Queen's Ivory Rod and the Queen's Sceptre with the Cross. The King wears the State Crown and the Queen hers as the Queen-Consort.

Coronation Cavalcade

of a dove and sometimes with finials of other descriptions.

Sporley's inventory of the Confessor's Regalia at Westminster mentions a golden sceptre, a gilt wooden rod (*virga*), and another of iron, with two rods for the queen. And the disgracefully purposed inventory of 1649 enumerates "One staff of black and white Iuory with a doue on the top with binding and foote of gould" (£4 10s.); "One small staff with a floure dc luce on the topp formerly thought to be all of gould, but vpon triall found to be Iron within and siluer gilt" (£2 10s., without the silver); and two sceptres, one being set with "pearles and stones the upper end gould the lower end siluer . . . the lower end being horne and a little siluer gilt," and the other sceptre of "siluar gilt with a doue formerly thought gould" (£65 16s. 10d.) (Legg).

All these perished in the Roundhead iconoclasm, no sceptre remaining in the Regalia which is older than the Restoration.



Courtesy of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.

(Left to right) The King's Sceptre with the Dove, made for King Charles II's Coronation; St. Edward's Staff, made by Vyner to replace the ancient relic staff lost under the Commonwealth; and the Queen's Sceptre with the Dove, made for Queen Mary II.

(From "The English Regalia," by Cyril Davenport.)

The King's Sceptre Royal with the Cross is placed in the King's right hand at his Coronation. It was new, made by Vyner for Charles II, and has undergone alteration since. Originally measuring 33½ in., it was fashioned of gold, with applied ornament at top and base. At the top were two *fleurs-de-lys*, supporting a jewelled gold cross on a globe of amethyst. The uppermost part of the shaft was wreathed; beneath this was an ornamental section; and, lower still, was a plain grip, terminating in a spherical pommel with a ball-shaped finial.*

It received some damage in Blood's escapade, and previous to George IV's Coronation, the *fleurs-de-lys* were replaced by ornamental bracket-shaped supports for the globe.† By command of King Edward VII, the design of this part was again varied by the insertion of the largest "Star of Africa," which, with its setting, has brought up the length of the Sceptre to 36½ in.

* Sandsford; Ashmole and Sandford; Planché; Jackson; etc.
† Planché; Jones.

The Sceptres and Orbs

Like other of the "Stars of Africa" in the Regalia, it is detachable and can be worn as a pendant.*

Richly enamelled and encrusted with stones, the Sceptre contains two principal gems. Of these the most famous is the "Star of Africa," the largest portion of the great Cullinan diamond found at Pretoria in 1905. This portion weighs no less than $516\frac{1}{2}$ carats. Above it gleams the great faceted amethyst forming the globe, with

in the form of a dove is very strong, so the generally accepted explanation of the device is probably the soundest.

"If" (to quote Jones' *Crowns & Coronations*) "the sceptre be regarded as a staff to assure the steps of the sovereign, the dove is a spirit to direct his course." Moreover, after the unction of the Kings of France at their Coronations, white doves were released in the church, and permitted to flutter away.



At the Coronation of King George IV—(Left to right) St. Edward's Staff, borne by the Marquess of Salisbury; the Spurs, by Lord Calthorpe; and the King's Sceptre with the Cross, by the Marquess of Wellesley.

(From Nayler's "The Coronation of King George IV," 1839.)

its jewelled bandings, and in the centre of the Cross is a square emerald.

In his left hand, the King bears the Sceptre with the Dove, also known as the Rod of Equity and Mercy. Measuring 43 in., it is fashioned of gold set with gems, and is completed by an orb surmounted by a Cross on which perches a dove of white enamel. This Sceptre was also made for Charles II's Coronation.

As has been seen, a dove is an ancient symbol in connection with sceptres. It has even been suggested that such ornaments are vaguely descended from the eagle of Rome; though in mediaeval records they are often referred to as *merlots*. But the significance of an allusion to the Holy Ghost

Another Ornament associated with the most ancient Coronation traditions is "St. Edward's Staff." This, like "St. Edward's Crown," was new made by Vynet for Charles II's Coronation. Some 4 ft. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, it consists of a gold staff shod with a pike of steel, so that it could be rested on the ground without damage. It is thus the descendant of an ancient ceremonial walking staff in which a piece of the True Cross was reputedly placed. At Richard III's Coronation, the Earl of Bedford bore "Saint Edwardes staffe for a Relique."

Ornamented with collars of acanthus leaf

*Jackson; *Garrard's*, 1711-1911; Younghusband and Davenport; Twining; *Encycl. Britannica*.

Coronation Cavalcade

pattern, the existing staff is surmounted by a cross paty on an orb.

Among the Queens' Ornaments are the Sceptres with the Cross and the Dove, and the Ivory Rod. The two last-mentioned are both surmounted by doves, and must

be supplied as an equivalent of that of the King—in that case, her husband, William of Orange. The designs, however, are not identical.

So many references occur in this book to the loss or destruction of the Ornaments under the Commonwealth, that a later loss cannot be ignored. For some time the Queen's Sceptre with the Dove was missing—misled in the Tower itself. But in 1814 it was found lying at the back of a shelf in the Jewel House, covered with dust.*

All these Ornaments have rich decoration, especially pleasing being the Ivory Rod, the gold work of which is enamelled in colours, and the dove itself enamelled in white.

As has been seen, Sceptres and Crowns are often topped by an orb surmounted with a cross. This carries us on to the independent Orb, which is closely related in use to a sceptre. As surmounted by a Cross, the Orb, Globe, or Monde—"mound" is an old term frequently met with—is supposed to suggest Christianity triumphant over the Earth. Often the Orb is plain, but banded by jewels; though the 16th-century example at Stockholm is engraved with a *mappa mundi*—a map of the world, according to the ideas of its period. (See illustration, page 53.)



King George I, in Coronation Robes, bearing the King's Sceptre with the Dove, and the Orb.

(From the engraving by J. Gole after J. Hirsemann)

not be confused. The Queen's Sceptre with the Cross and the Ivory Rod were both made for Mary of Modena, to replace those lost under the Parliament. Since the Ivory Rod is essentially a Queen-Consort's Ornament, it was unsuitable for Mary II, who was crowned in her own right. Thus, the Queen's Sceptre with the Dove

In an interesting representation of the Holy Roman Emperor, Otto III (d. 1002), he is shown supporting a staff topped with a bird in his right hand, and in his left a globe, not surmounted by a cross, but bearing one on its surface. The Orb was known to

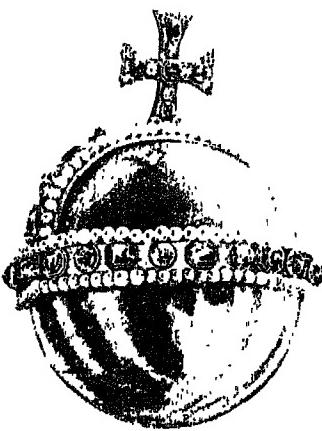
* Wm. Jones; Davenport; etc.

The Sceptres and Orb

the Emperors of the East, and is represented on various of their coins.

Edward the Confessor is shown bearing both Sceptre and Orb. (See illustration Chapter XXIV.) From this point the history of the "mound" is continuously deducible, though a dearth of textual references to it seems, at first, puzzling.

There is, however, a simple and convincing explanation. The Orb and the Sceptre with the Cross are in origin one and the same. It is obvious from MSS., etc., that mediæval Orbs were often surmounted by Crosses on very tall stems. They thus became, in effect, Sceptres with a globe at the base. Wherfore a confusion eventually arose between an Orb with something like a Sceptre on top, and a Sceptre surmounted by an Orb and Cross. Thus, in the Coronation Service, the presentation of the Orb and the Sceptre with the Cross



Courtesy of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co
The Queen's Orb, made for Queen Mary II as joint monarch of the Realm, and now in the Tower of London.
From "The English Regalia," by Cyril Davenport.

is truly a duplication of a single item of ritual.

In the 1649 inventory, "The Globe," weighing 1 lb. 5 oz., was valued at £57 10s. That now existing was made by Sir Robert Vyner for Charles II's Coronation. It is a hollow* sphere of gold, 6 in. diameter, with gemmed bands, and surmounted by a Cross of gold, again jewelled. Conspicuous among the gems are the amethyst monde and the large stones in the midst of the Cross. The total height of the entire ornament is 11 in.

The Queen's Orb owes its existence to the joint coronation of William and Mary, which was conducted with equal observances. Nevertheless, the Orb then made for Mary II is neither as large nor as handsome as that appertaining to the King.

* Jackson: *Illus. History of English Plate.*

CHAPTER X

The Ring, the Bracelets, and the Plate

AS symbolizing the mystic espousal of a King and his Realm, the Coronation Ring occupies an equivalent position to that of a Bishop, wedded to his Church.

Edward the Confessor's Ring has for long been a subject of legendary lore.

According to the story, the Confessor encountered a "fayre old man," who craved alms of him. Having nothing else to give, the saintly King took off his ring and handed it to the beggar.

Now it so chanced that two English

pilgrims were wandering, lost, in the Holy Land, when they also met a "fayre ancient man" with white hair "for age." They revealed their plight to his questioning, whereupon the stranger comforted them and led them to a fair city. There they lay for the night, resuming their way on the morrow. The stranger accompanied them until they were on their right road, and then made ready to depart.

At that moment, the two pilgrims learnt in what company they had been biding. For the stranger told them that he was



By permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

St. Edward the Confessor giving his Ring to the Beggarman, as represented on a 13th-century tile in the floor of the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey. Also (centre) Minstrels and (right) Queen Eleanor of Castile with a hawk on her wrist.

The Ring, the Bracelets, and the Plate

John the Evangelist, charging them to greet well King Edward by the token of that same ring which had been given to the supposed "beggar."

And when the Evangelist had delivered the ring to the pilgrims, he left them "sodenly."

It is a pretty story and one which was often portrayed in mediæval art.

This, by repute, was the ring which was laid up as a relic in Westminster Abbey. It was credited with the power of curing the cramp, and from it arose the belief that the sovereigns of England had the faculty of healing this malady. The blessing of cramp-rings, to be worn as preventive or remedy, was ceremonially practised by monarchs on Good Fridays down to the time of Edward VI or Mary I. The separate practice of touching for the "King's Evil," which also commenced with Edward the Confessor, had a longer life, Queen Anne being the last of our sovereigns to follow it.

It has already been mentioned that the sapphire now in the Cross of the State Crown is traditionally that which sparkled in Edward the Confessor's cramp-ring.

From their intimate character, not unlike that of a wedding-ring, Coronation Rings were normally provided for each monarch. Certain exceptions are known to this rule, but here let me tell the romance of the Ring which James II succeeded in taking to his exile in France.

It was on December 11th, 1688, that James attempted to flee the country before the successful advance of "Dutch William." Rising at three in the morning, he left his bed-chamber in the dark and silent palace of Whitehall, by some secret stairs which, in the Merry King's time, had known both solemn and frivolous usages.

With James went various matters, including the Great Seal of England, the Coronation Ring, and the Queen's diamond bodkin. Arrived at Millbank, the little party crossed the Thames in a wherry, James dropping the

Seal in the river on the way. By a streak of good fortune, it was brought up in a fishing net many months later.

On reaching the Lambeth bank, the fugitives sped into Kent, reaching Elmley Ferry on the morning of the 12th. There lay a hoy which had been chartered in readiness. James went aboard, but an unfavouring wind caused a tide to be lost.

The delay was fatal. Local suspicion was aroused. "Jesuits" were escaping, and Jesuits were worth money from the Law. A mob of fishermen boarded the hoy, and the King received some rude treatment. He was roughly searched, but the Ring and bodkin, which he had concealed in his drawers, were not detected though they were within a squeak of discovery.

James, whose disguise had by this time been penetrated, was taken ashore, and spent the night at Faversham, while the mob held watch round the house. He was taken back to London, was removed to Ham House, and thence to Abdication House, Rochester.

By now, William III was anxious to be rid of his father-in-law. He was by no means wishful that James should fail to escape for a second time. While James plotted departure in Abdication House, the Whigs were being as negligent as they knew how to encourage him to flight. Their plans were successful.

On the evening of December 22nd James told various people that he would see them again in the morning. In the still of the night he left the building, and with Berwick, his natural son, got clear of the country. And by so doing he unwittingly gratified his opponents' desire, and committed political suicide.

The exiled Stewarts seem to have inherited more than one Coronation Ring (Shield: pp. 277, 301). That used at Charles I's Scottish Coronation, further of which later, was sent to George IV by the Bishop of Milevi, executor of his kinsman, Cardinal York—the "Henry IX" of the Jacobites.

Queen Victoria had her own Coronation



Coronation
Ring of King
James II.

(From an en-
graving by W.
Sherwin,
1687.)

Coronation Cavalcade

Ring, but William IV's Coronation Ring was that used by King Edward VII and King George V. Queen Adelaide's Ring was worn also by Queen Alexandra and Queen Mary. There is a curious tradition that the length of the reign is prognosticated by the tightness or looseness with which the Ring fits the finger of the Monarch. In



The escape of King James II from Whitehall on the night of December 11, 1688, when he succeeded in taking his Coronation Ring with him. In the text beneath the print illustrated, his flight on this occasion is incorrectly dated.

(From a Dutch engraving by A. Schoonebeek.)

Queen Victoria's case, this was certainly justified, for the Ring was made for the wrong finger, and was painfully forced on to another.

After such romantic incidents the story of the Bracelets is colourless and lacking in detail. At the same time it embodies some interesting points.

Why modern, "emancipated" woman should deck her fair arms with what she calls "slave bangles" is hard for mere man to fathom. Were this book an *excursus* on primal urges, some pretty deductions might be drawn from the point.

Without entering into such perilous topics, we can agree that the bracelet or armlet is one of the oldest of ornaments. Its use is widespread and ancient, extending from highest to lowest; and at a very early date it figures with the ornaments of kings. Such were worn in Egypt and Assyria, and such was upon the dead body of Saul. Said the Amalekite to David:

"So I stood upon him, and slew him, because I was sure that he could not live after that he was fallen: and I took the crown that was upon his head, and the bracelet that was on his arm, and have brought them hither unto my lord." (*II Samuel*, i, 10.)

Though their usage has lapsed, bracelets have long formed part of the English Regalia. They are the *armilla* of the mediæval kings, the "garters" wherewith Elizabeth was decked at her crowning. Their history is complicated through

confusion with the *armil* or Stole, and it appears that, at some undefined period, they became actually laced to that vestment. In an early 17th-century MS. (Add. 4814) relating to the Regalia, mention is made of "the Braselett which is for good works."

No Bracelets are mentioned in the 1649 inventory, but a new pair was made by Sir Robert Vyner for Charles II's Coronation. They are of handsome appearance, the gold being decorated in *champlévé* enamel with the Badges of the Rose, Thistle and Harp, and the French *fleur-de-lys*. The enamel-

The Ring, the Bracelets, and the Plate

work has been renewed;* but in any case the design is unsatisfactory, and it must be conceded that, on the whole, the Bracelets do not rank with the best portions of the Regalia.

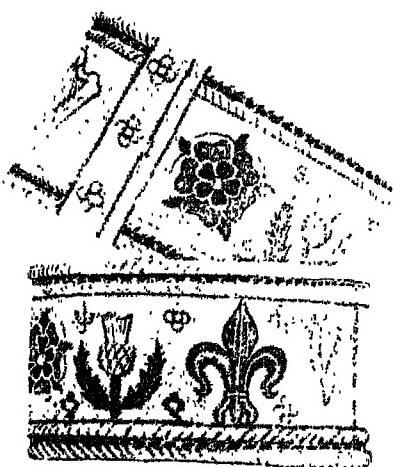
The latter includes many items of silver or silver-gilt plate of superb quality. I do not propose to discuss them in detail as apart from the Sacred Vessels, the maces of the Serjeants-at-Arms, and the State Trumpets on which the fanfare is sounded at the Recognition and Crowning, their relation to Coronations is of a secondary nature.

Of outstanding importance is the sumptuous collection of salts: "Queen Elizabeth's"; the garnish of eleven known as "St. George's Salts"; and the Salt of State, fashioned in the form of a castle, which occupied a prominent position on the Royal Table in Westminster Hall. These are mostly by London makers, "Queen Elizabeth's Great Salt," a magnificent example, bearing the date letter for 1572-3, and the rest belonging to 1660 or thereabouts.† On what, apart from date, the attribution to Elizabeth rests, is unknown to me, but the Salt in question is always known as such.

The Great Salt of State (1660) was, however, presented by the Corporation of Exeter, and may have been made in that city.† It has been described as representing the White Tower, which is certainly not so. It may have been inspired by the castle

device—not "crest," as some writers describe it—on the Exeter seal. I should not be surprised to learn that the castle on the Salt was borrowed from a continental example.

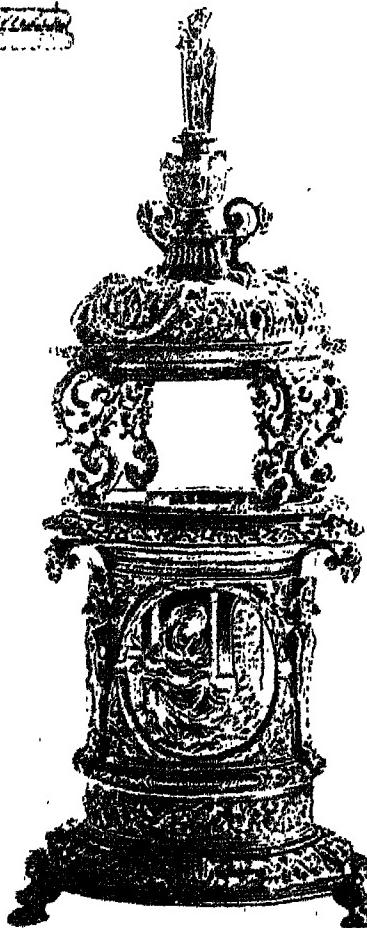
Besides these, there is the elaborate Wine Fountain or Cistern (1660) presented by the



Courtesy of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.

Though no longer used at Coronations, the Bracelets made by Vyner for King Charles II's Coronation are interesting survivals of an ancient form of regal Ornament.

(From "The English Regalia," by Cyril Davenport.)



Courtesy of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.

Queen Elizabeth's Salt is the oldest piece of secular plate now in the Regalia. It bears the date letter for 1572/3.

(From "The English Regalia," by Cyril Davenport.)

**Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. 91 (1821); Davenport: *The English Regalia*.

†E. Alfred Jones: *Old Royal Plate*; Jackson: *Illustrated History of English Plate*; etc.

Coronation Cavalcade

Plymouth Corporation to Charles II. It is furnished with shell-like protuberances for receiving wine, over which rises a central structure with beautifully wrought statuettes.

The Font, which gave Superintendent Pierse so much trouble in the fire of 1841, was also made for Charles II's plate. It is accompanied by a dish; and also by a couple of 17th-century flagons of Hamburg origin. Various royalties have been baptised in the Font, George IV among them. Queen Victoria had a new and personal Font for her family use. As shown in a picture by Hayter, the latter Font was placed inside Charles II's for King Edward VII's baptism.

The Dish from which Maundy is annually distributed in Westminster Abbey is another

piece of Charles II's plate; while the Communion Flagon and Alms Dish, used at various Coronations, and thrice yearly in the Chapel of St. Peter-ad-Vincula, were fashioned for William and Mary in 1691-92. (E. Alfred Jones: *Old Royal Plate*; etc.) Two Chalices and a like number of Patens, engraved with the arms of the same Royal Pair, and used during the Sacramental Office at Coronations, should also be noted.

The Maces carried by the Serjeants-at-Arms are of various periods, the oldest having been fashioned for Charles II. And as the mace, though now a mere symbol, evolved from a weapon of offence, we may turn our attention to those items of the Regalia which are purely knightly in character.

CHAPTER XI

The Swords and the Spurs

ACCIDENTS will happen; but I doubt whether anyone has dropped so ghastly a "brick" as did the Deputy Earl Marshal at George III's Coronation in 1761.

Things had not been going over well. A strike of the workmen in Westminster Hall had threatened to delay the proceedings. This was settled in time; but at the very last moment the procession was hindered because a number of things were still lacking.

You remember Charles Keene's *Punch* joke of the inebriated bandsman who had mislaid his railway ticket?

"Ye cannot hev Lost it!" says the ticket collector.

"Aw cannot! Why, man, au've lost the *Big Drum!*"

The position was something like that. My Lord of Effingham was sober enough, but had chanced to forget a number of items. Among these were the Sword of State, the banquet chairs for the Royal couple, and the canopy. A superb lapse of memory!

The procession was delayed until noon, the deficiencies being hastily remedied.

Not unreasonably, the King was put out over the hindrance, and then it was that the Earl of Effingham dropped his historic "brick."

Said he: "It is true, sir, that there has been some neglect, but I have taken care that the next coronation shall be regulated in the exactest manner possible [!]"

The which, if seriously meant, would have been the most barefaced *lèse-majesté*.

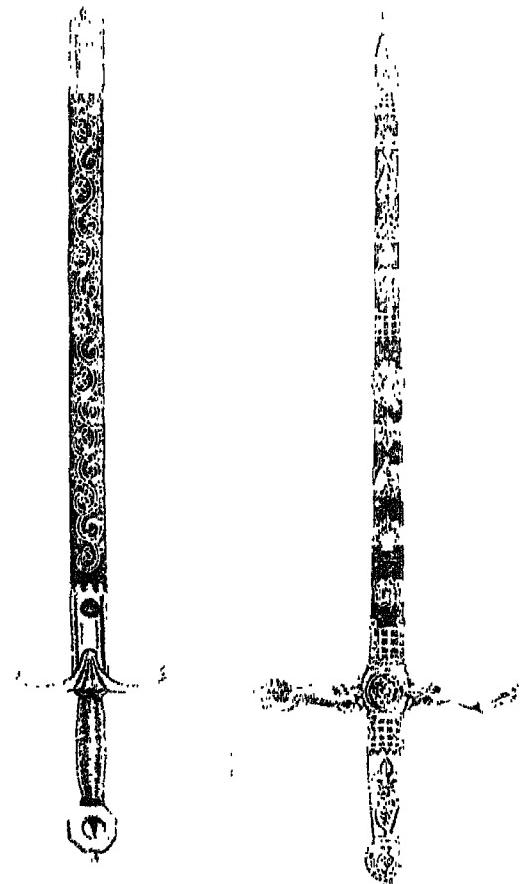
But though clumsily expressed, the intention was honest enough. And George, as a good-humoured monarch, was mightily tickled. So much so that he obliged the discomfited official to repeat the remark several times, lest any of the savour of the jest should be lost.

On this occasion the lack of the Sword was remedied by borrowing one through the Lord Mayor of London. Doubtless this was chosen both for its accessibility and handsome appearance, but there were other arms, even in the Abbey, which might have been pressed into service. It is quite clear from this incident, and on other grounds, that no talismanic quality attaches to the Swords of State as such. They might be renewed or replaced.

The Swords of State are large weapons symbolical of power and virtues. I am not speaking now of the Sword girt on to the King; that will come later; but of the great arms which are carried in procession in the same way that the ceremonial sword of a city attends its Mayor on important occasions.

There are *Curtana*, the Swords Spiritual and Temporal, and also the Great Sword of State, though Taylor declares that the last is strictly a privy Ornament. *Curtana* (*Curtain*), or "St. Edward's Sword" (sometimes so-called), is pointless and typifies Mercy. This was anciently borne by the Earls of Chester and Earls of Lancaster. Now the Sword of Justice to the Spirituality, and that of Justice to the Temporality are both pointed. As shewn in an engraving in Sandford's account of James II's Corona-

Coronation Cavalcade



Courtesy of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.
"Curtana," or the Sword of Mercy, made for King Charles II's Coronation. The hilt of gilt steel is reminiscent of an earlier pattern. (Right) the Great Sword of State, made for King William III and Queen Mary, whose arms appear in the centre of the scabbard.

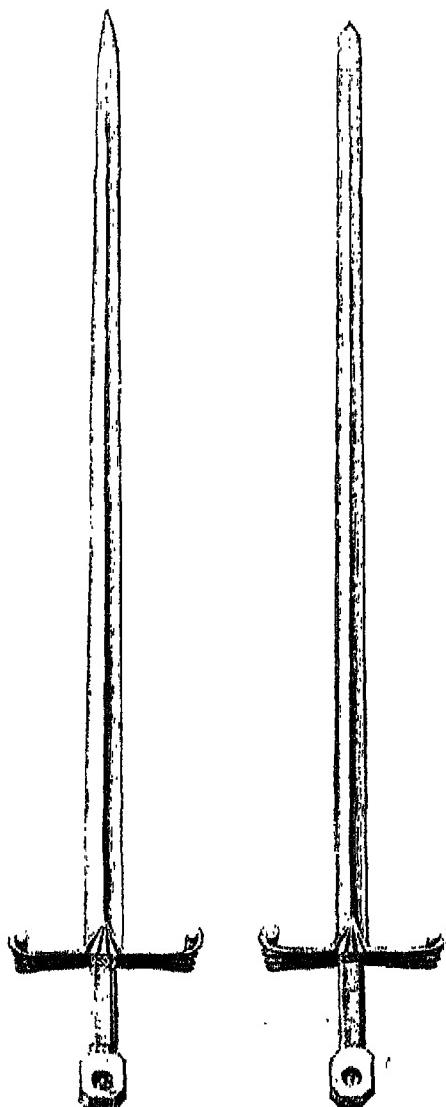
From "The English Regalia," by Cyril Davenport.)

tion, all three of these swords are still hilted alike, with voided pommels, and flattened quillons (cross-members), scrolling over at the extremities. In this pseudo-antique form as figured by Sandford, they differ from the weapons engraved in Walker's *Preparations for the Coronation of . . . Charles the Second* (1820), but the reliability of the latter representation is more questionable.

The Great Sword of State is a sumptuous affair of late construction, with quillons fashioned in the semblance of the Lion and

Unicorn. The arms of William and Mary occur on the scabbard.

Its ancestor is to be found in the "Great Sword of Edward III," in Westminster Abbey. This normally leans against the stone screen in the Confessor's Chapel, beside the "Chair of St Edward." This enormous weapon, 5 ft. 4 in. long, was obviously never intended for anything but



The Sword of Justice to the Temporality and (right) the Sword of Justice to the Spirituality, at the time of King James II's Coronation.
(From the engraving by W. Sherwin in Sandford's "History of the Coronation of James II," 1687.)

The Swords and the Spurs

ceremonial usage. It is roughly constructed, but, as Sir Guy Laking observed, was "possibly imposing enough in its gold paint, velvet, and other decorations." All these have vanished, and the Sword, which retains its wooden grip, bears a shabby appearance. At the same time, it is of great associative value and antiquarian interest. Though Laking expressed himself cautiously as to its date, its attribution to Edward III may not be inexact. That is, it may belong to the latter part of his reign, for he did not die until 1377, and this Sword was tentatively assigned by Laking to the second half of the 14th century.

Beside it is kept the "Shield of Edward III," which deserves a few words in passing. Mediaeval shields are scarce, which fact alone renders this of some moment. It is fashioned of wood, originally surfaced with leather on a basis of canvas, of which a certain amount still remains; but it has received scurvy treatment, and is in a sorry condition. If Laking was cautious in the matter of the Sword, he was still more so as to the period of the shield. After boggling at 15th-century date, he permitted himself to concede that it might be "just possible" that this defence is as old as is claimed for it.

Besides the several State Swords in the Regalia is one carried when James II's son, the Old Chevalier, was proclaimed "James III" at Scone in the Fifteen. Kept in the Tower Armouries, this true claymore has a blade $39\frac{1}{2}$ in. long.

At the Coronation of Charles II, in 1661, *Curtana* was carried by no less a person than Aubrey de Vere, 20th Earl of Oxford, Baron Bolbec, Samford, and Badlesmere, and a Knight of the Garter: the premier Earl of England. At the crowning of James II and Anne, he carried the Sword of State. He was the last Earl of that long and puissant line which had its rise in another Aubrey in the 12th century. Many of them, though not the last, were Lords Great Chamberlain, and some rose to heights from which they crashing fell. As with that Vere whom

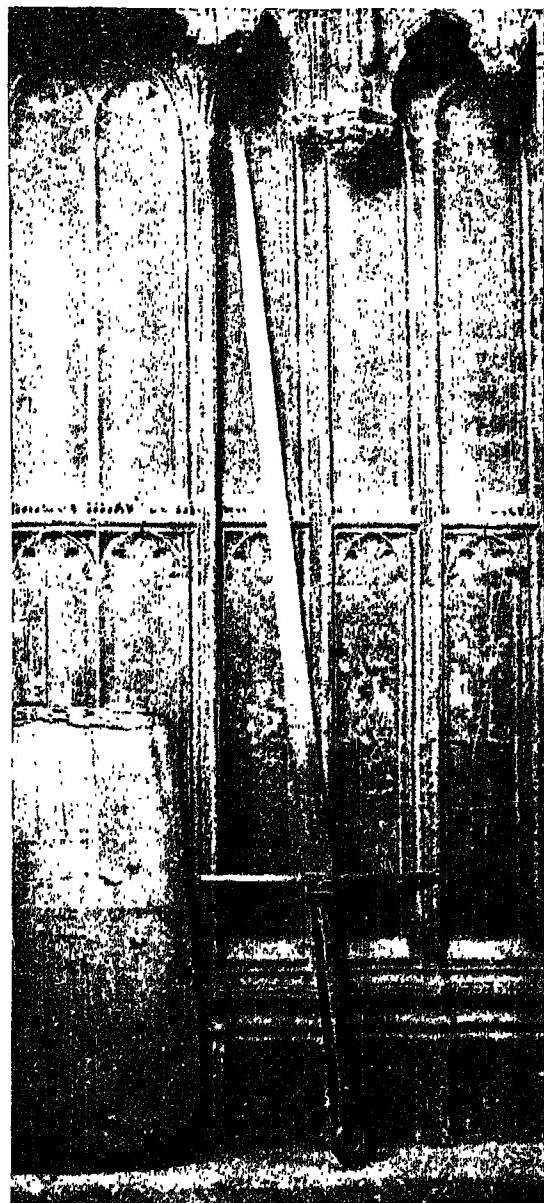


Photo: W. F. Mansell.

Ancestor to the Great Sword of State is the Great Sword of King Edward III, here seen in its resting-place at Westminster Abbey. Beside it is the mediaeval Shield attributed to the same monarch.

Richard of Bordeaux created Duke of Ireland. But Aubrey, 20th Earl of Oxford, "a man of loose morals, but of inoffensive temper, and of courtly manners," had no chick or child to follow him; so the title lapsed.

Coronation Cavalcade

Lapsed, mark you; for how might it become extinct? After the proud Duke of Ireland had been banished, the Earldom of Oxford was regranted to his uncle, and that uncle's heirs male. A wide term this, and heirs male of him, another Aubrey, must exist, if we could but trace them. For this reason, no Earls of Oxford since the time of the 20th lord, have been created Earls of Oxford only. The Harleys were Earls of Oxford and Earls Mortimer. Herbert Henry Asquith, our one-time Premier, became Earl of Oxford and Asquith. These titles are not the same as that of which the memory lingers in the modern London suburb of Earl's Court, where once the Veres enjoyed a manor. But everywhere the name of Vere persists as the synonym of proud nobility.

Swords of State are not associated with Coronations only, and the bearing of one in James II's reign gave rise to a picturesque incident.

It is a commonplace that the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk, are one of the old English Catholic families. Henry Howard, the 7th Duke, however, ceased to be "Roman," and joined the Establishment; whereas

James, of course, was an extreme ultramontane.

Bishop Burnet recorded an anecdote of how, one day, the King gave the Duke the Sword of State to carry before him to Mass. On arrival at the chapel, the Duke stood aside at the door.

"Upon which the king said to him,—'My Lord, your father would have gone further:' to which the duke answered,—'Your majesty's father was the better man, and he would not have gone so far.'"

Whatever may be our religious views, we can surely enjoy a good repartee. There is only one difficulty: did this incident happen at all? Tierney, the historian of Arundel, collated material to prove it fictitious. On the evidence of the French ambassador, Barillon, he stated that, "except when the king communicated (and then the sword was borne by a catholic . . .), it was the established order for the person carrying the sword of state to remain at the door, and *not* to enter the chapel." Furthermore, "that so far from any such dialogue, as that detailed by Burnet, having taken place, on one of the very first occasions on which



The Swords as carried at the Coronation of King George IV. (Centre) "Curtana"—by the Duke of Newcastle; (left and right) the Swords of Temporal and Spiritual Justice—by the Earl of Galloway and the Duke of Northumberland.

(From Naylor's "The Coronation of King George IV," 1839.)

The Swords and the Spurs



Courtesy of Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.

St. George's Spurs, of gold, which are touched to the King's heels in token of Knighthood.
They were made by Vyner for King Charles II's Coronation.

(From "The English Regalia," by Cyril Davenport.)

James proceeded to mass in state, the Duke of Norfolk, together with the Dukes of Grafton, Richmond, Northumberland, and others, absolutely entered the chapel, and accompanied the king to the gallery; whilst it was remarked that the Duke of Ormonde, and the Marquess of Halifax . . . ‘sont demeurés dans l'antichambre’.”

Though symbolical swords have been carried at Coronations since at least the time of the Bayeux

sword is laid on the Altar, he dedicates it to the service of God. Thence the weapon itself is redeemed by an oblation of one hundred shillings, and is unsheathed and carried before the Monarch during the rest of the ceremony.

Probably no more *intrinsically* valuable weapon exists than the cross-hilted State Sword made for George IV's Coronation. Its hilt and scabbard are a blaze of gems, among which are formed the badges of the Rose, the Thistle and the Shamrock in stones of appropriate colour. But the main effect is secured by a heavy incrustation of diamonds. That this arm cost no less than £6,000 is noted by both Younghusband and Davenport (*The Crown Jewels of England*), and Twining (*The English Regalia*).

The golden Spurs, which are touched to the King's heels in token of knighthood, are doubtless those made for Charles II's Coronation. Their form, however, embodies an ancient tradition, for they are of the type known as “prick spur,” i.e. with a point at the extremity instead of a rowel. This form was early, and, indeed, primitive, though ornament of late type is here introduced. The “leathers” (so to speak)

The Jewelled Sword of State—the most intrinsically valuable sword in the world.

(From "The Crown Jewels of England," by kind permission of Sir George Younghusband, K.C.M.G.)

Tapestry, the practice of girding a sword on the Monarch must be very much older. Besides its knightly significance, it is a token that the realm is entrusted to his charge.

When this weapon is girt on to the King, he is symbolically invested with the might of the sword. And when, thereafter,

Coronation Cavalcade

are of gold embroidered crimson velvet, and have been renewed. A queen-regnant touches the Spurs with her hand.

Like the Sword, and, indeed, other of the Coronation Ornaments, "St. George's Spurs" are laid on the Altar, whence they are redeemed by an oblation or offering. The provision of gold ingots for royal oblations is a regular item. Sandford specifies "Two Ingots of Gold, the One a Pound, the Other a Mark, for the King's [James II's] Two Offerings."

The first of these, supplemented by a pall

of gold, is offered by the Sovereign on the Altar after the Recognition; the second is that for the Sword. The ingots presented by Edward II were respectively fashioned as figures of Edward the Confessor, holding a ring, and a pilgrim, in allusion to the tradition detailed in Chapter X.

And here we may conveniently leave the more portable portions of the Regalia for two extremely notable relics which cannot be considered apart from it—the Coronation Chair, with its sacred content, the Stone of Destiny.

CHAPTER XII

The Stone and the Chair

THOUGH a severe critic has stigmatized certain portions of the existing Regalia as a "glittering collection of Wardour Street atrocities," no possible exception can be taken to the antiquity or æsthetics of the Coronation Chair.

Despite its sorry dilapidation, this time-honoured throne is one of the most precious of relics. Were it constructed of the fairest gold, instead of honest oak, whence well-nigh all the polychrome ornament has fled, it could not have acquired a more exalted importance. In Beard's words: "It is St. Edward's Crown and the Coronation Chair, known as St. Edward's Chair, that have been endowed most completely with the character of national talismans," so far as our race is concerned.* But though the ancient "St. Edward's Crown" has long disappeared, the present bearer of the style being a later successor, "St. Edward's Chair" has retained its full continuity. It is, *par excellence*, the ancient throne of our monarchs; moreover, it enshrines a royal seat of still greater antiquity. The latter, of course, is the Stone of Destiny from Scone, of which some account must be given.

Before doing so, it must be recalled that the practice of enthroning or elevating kings on a talismanic stone belongs to the highest antiquity. Sacred stones, whether for enthronement or other purposes, are found all over the world; and there are various allusions to king-making ceremonies in connection with such in the Old Testament books. In Ireland (to come nearer home) the practice was formerly more or less

general, best known being the historic Stone of Tara, which, for no particular reason, has been often confused with the Stone of Scone, now in Westminster Abbey.

The prime importance acquired by the latter has obscured the history of another stone once used for crownings in England. Long before the *Lia Fail* was brought south from Scone, and "St. Edward's Chair" fashioned to receive it, there existed a block at Kingston-on-Thames, on which early kings were enthroned. What matter if the name more likely means King's Town than Stone? There near the market-place to-day, on what is traditionally the site of a palace of our Saxon monarchs, this venerable relic survives.

It has been suggested that this "grey-wether" was what is commonly termed a "druidical" stone, to which a special significance had been attached from pre-Saxon times. Such is at any rate possible. Some local tradition of this as the inaugural stone of remote tribal chieftains may have encouraged Anglo-Saxon kings to employ it for their own symbolical and mystic enthronements. Egbert held a great council in the town in 838, and at any rate by the time of Edred, rather more than a century later, Kingston was already famed as an inaugural centre.

Seven Anglo-Saxon kings are said to have been crowned on the Stone; possibly

**Lucks and Talismans.*

† One of many interesting examples is the *Ting* on Tynwald Hill, near Peel, I.O.M., where the Kings of Man were anciently installed.

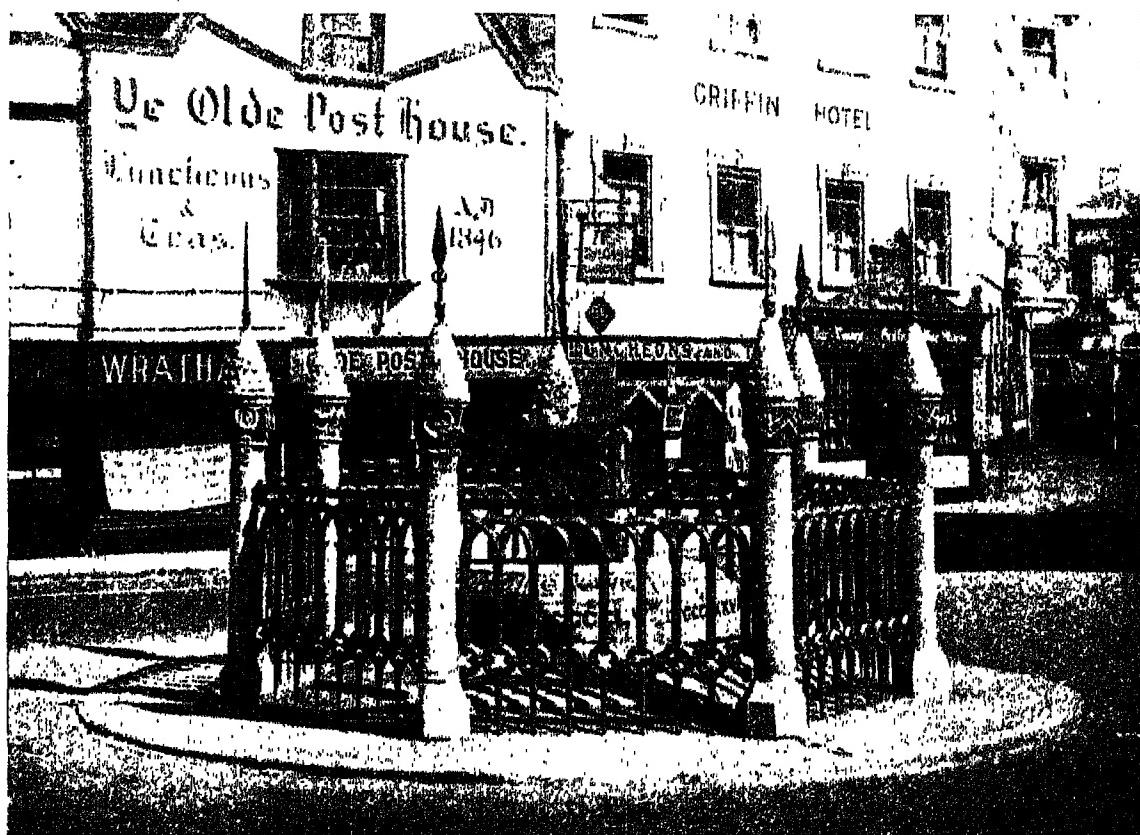
Coronation Cavalcade

more. The seven were Athelstan (924), Edmund I (940), Edred (946), Edgar (959), Edward the Martyr (975), Ethelred the Redeless (978), and Edmund Ironside (1016). It may be hoped that one of these days some monarch may revive the ancient and long interrupted custom, as a subsidiary ceremony. Admittedly the claims for the Stone are a matter of local tradition, which Loftie regarded with scepticism in *The Coronation Book of Edward VII*. He suggested that it may have been "primarily a seat for a priest;" and it was in the Parish Church when St. Mary's Chapel collapsed in 1730. At one time it stood against the old town hall in the market-place. Thence it was removed to the yard of the Assize Courts in 1837. In 1850 attention was directed to its state of obscurity. The town council then

appointed a committee to consider the matter, with the result that its present position was allotted to it. (Jones: *op. cit.*)

Mounted on a septagonal base, the Kings' Stone now forms the focus of an enclosure of seven stone pillars connected by iron railings. The design, by C. E. Davis, of Bath, is based upon Anglo-Saxon motifs; and the septagonal arrangement is symbolic of the seven kings who were crowned on the Stone. Under each of the pillars was placed a penny of one of these kings. Considering the period in which it was erected, the enclosure might have been much less worthy than it is; and the conception of the foundation deposits was happy.

If, in the case of the Kings' Stone, legend is sparse, the Stone of Destiny has accumulated an embarrassing wealth of apocrypha. Though its early history is bound up with



The ancient Kings' Stone at Kingston-on-Thames on which seven Anglo-Saxon Kings were crowned. It is surrounded by a not inappropriately designed enclosure of 19th-century construction.

The Stone and the Chair



Photo: W. P. Taylor.

Dunstaffnage Castle, near the mouth of Loch Etive, an age-old royal fortress and stronghold of the Lords of Lorne, is the reputed shrine of the Stone of Destiny before it was removed to Scone and thence to Westminster.

the enthronements of old Scottish kings, it is credited with a stupendous, if unhistorical, record. Above all, it has been credited with the power of uttering a sound when a true king takes his seat upon it. Beard considers, however, that this "one time vocality would appear to be an attribute derived from its former identification with Fal," the Sacred Stone of Tara. (See *Lucks and Talismans*.)

One story states that the Stone of Scone was that which Jacob used for a pillow at Luz, or Beth-el, when he dreamed of the ladder stretching from Heaven to Earth.

"And, behold! the Lord stood above it, and said, . . .

" . . . thy seed shall be as the dust of the earth; and thou shalt spread abroad to the west, and to the east, and to the north,

and to the south: and in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. . . .

"And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put for his pillows, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it." (*Genesis*, xxviii, 13, 14, 18.)

Now, somehow or other, this stone went to Egypt, where it was found by Gathelus, "the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the city of Athens." Gathelus had married Scota, the daughter of Pharaoh, and doubtless was doing very well. But owing to the plagues called down on the country by Moses, Egypt ceased to be convenient as a gentleman's residence, so Gathelus removed into Spain.

Building what is now Compostella, he "sat vpon his marble [sic] stone in Brigantia,

Coronation Cavalcade

where he gaue lawes, and ministred justice vnto his people."

This, if we choose to accept the farrago of nonsense solemnly advanced by Holinshed and others, is how the Stone of Destiny commenced its travels to Scotland.

I do not propose to narrate every version of this extraordinary yarn, not yet some of the supplementary tales of the *Lia Fail's* passage. For instance, the item that Gathelus is sometimes called "Gathol, King of Scots," need not be taken into serious account.

However, to continue the main stem of the legend: the Stone was brought into Ireland by King Simon Brech some seven hundred years before Christ; and thence into Scotland, by Fergus, brother of Muirchear-tach Mac Farch, about 330 B.C.

There, in the vaults of Dunstaffnage Castle, it lay, till removed to Scone by King Kenneth.

Having now arrived, with some jumps, in the 9th century, A.D. we may pause to take stock of the evidence. Adherents of British-Israel will have recognized here much familiar material. So, likewise, will those acquainted with the mediaeval desire to enhance the value of relics by additional wonders. It must suffice to observe that no data whatever exists for almost the whole of the story. That entirely unexplained translation from Beth-el to Egypt; the travels to Spain, and to Ireland; the entire early "history"—on what does it rest? Mr. Justice Starkeleigh's ruling that what the soldier, or any other man, said was not evidence, applies with considerable force.

Amongst other items, the name of "Scota" as that of a princess of Egypt needs more explanation than it is ever likely to receive. Here is an old piece of pedigree-making: an attempt to foreshadow the use of the stone in Scotia (or Scotland). When King Robert the Bruce appealed to Edward II in 1324 for the restoration of the Stone to Scotland, he alluded to Scota (who had given "her name to the land which was before called Albion") as having brought it

from Egypt. With such honest beliefs we may bracket fancies like that which (later) derived the Gordons from the Gorduni, a tribe of the Nervi, in Gaul, though their name was actually derived from their original holdings in Berwickshire. Or, in a more modern and in some ways less innocent conception, a family of Coulthart from a "Roman lieutenant" with the preposterous name of Coulthartus!

That the Jacob-Gathelus-Simon Brech legend is very much older than these—is, indeed, of a hoary antiquity—affects the main issue in no wise. All this is legend, and must not be presented as fact.

The speculation that the *Lia Fail* may have come over from Ireland is attractive enough in its way. But Professor Ramsay's *Geological Account of the Coronation Stone* in Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster Abbey* heavily discounts such a theory. Indeed, the professor declared that the Stone could not have emanated from Tara or from Iona, and that it was unlikely to have come from either Beth-el or Egypt.

The which, if well founded—and I claim no geological knowledge—would suggest that we should do better to confine our researches to Scotland. And in this connection Ramsay's suggestion that the *Lia Fail* resembles the stones of the doorway of Dunstaffnage Castle is highly suggestive. Turning to the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments' notice of the Stone, we are confronted by the prosaic fact that it is "a roughly rectangular mass of coarse-grained sandstone (26½ in. by 16½ in. by 11 in. thick)."

Some have thought that the legend of Jacob's pillow is really a corrupted version of a tradition that the Stone was placed under the head of the dying St. Columba. It is certain, however, that the Stone was used for many generations for the elevation or enthronement of the old Scottish kings. For four centuries and a half, says Bocce, "in this chiar all kingis of Scotland war ay crownit quhil ye time of kyng Robert Bruse. In quhais tyme besyde mony othir

The Stone and the Chair

cruelteis done by kyng Edward lang schankis [Edward I], the said chiar of merbyll [sic] wes taikin be Inglymen and brocht out of Scone to London and put into Westmonistar quhare it remanis to our dayis."

Now, though Edward I "acquired" the Stone by conquest, he could actually show a descent from the Scots king, Malcolm *Caennmor* (or "great head"), who had married St. Margaret of the Royal Saxon line. Since then, by the accession of the Stewarts, the link with the royal line of Scotland has been more closely knit. So that when a monarch of our time is enthroned on the Stone of Destiny, he is actually perpetuating a custom familiar to his remote Scottish ancestors, and akin to that possibly practised by his Anglo-Saxon forebears at Kingston-on-Thames.

It would seem that the Stone was already enshrined in a chair* when Edward I removed it from Scone in 1296. Probably the latter was left behind or destroyed; and it was doubtless at this time that the still extant trussing rings were attached to the Stone, so that it could be slung on a carrying pole. Among other features of the Stone, mentioned in the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments' description, is a cutting in the form of a small Latin cross; and the markings for a rectangular sinking, which does not appear to have been "actually made."

The latter is supposed to indicate where a bronze plate was formerly attached. This bore words to the effect that wherever the Stone shall be, there the Scots shall rule.

*Ni fallat Fatum, Scotti hunc quocunque locatum
Inveniunt lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Or, Englished:

If Fates go right, where'er this Stone is found,
The Scots shall Monarchs of that Realm be Crown'd.

With the accession of James VI and I to the English Throne, this prophecy was literally fulfilled, and the Royal Family today regards with pride the Scottish descent, through which it links back to the Stewarts. Those Scottish Nationalists, who would restore the "*fatal Marble Stone*" to Scone, thus abrogating nearly six and a half centuries of its history, should beware lest they limit the bounds of their race!

Arrived at Westminster, the Stone of Destiny was placed in the Abbey Church, near the shrine of St. Edward. In 1300-1 a "new chair" was made to encase it. Stanley (*Memorials of Westminster Abbey*) says that the original notion was to fashion the chair in bronze, and that some parts of it were actually finished. This plan, however, was changed, and perhaps it was as well. Bronze is a tempting alloy, and (who knows?) the chair might have shared the fate of the old Regalia in 1649.[†]

Instead, the existing "Chair of St. Edward"—so named in veneration of the Confessor—was made by Master Walter, the king's painter (in 1300-1). It was fashioned in oak, with some carving, and adorned with paintings and glass mosaic, most of which have vanished. At sides and back are remnants of gilt gesso decoration. There are also foliage and other ornament, and faint traces survive on the back of the most important painting, that of a seated king

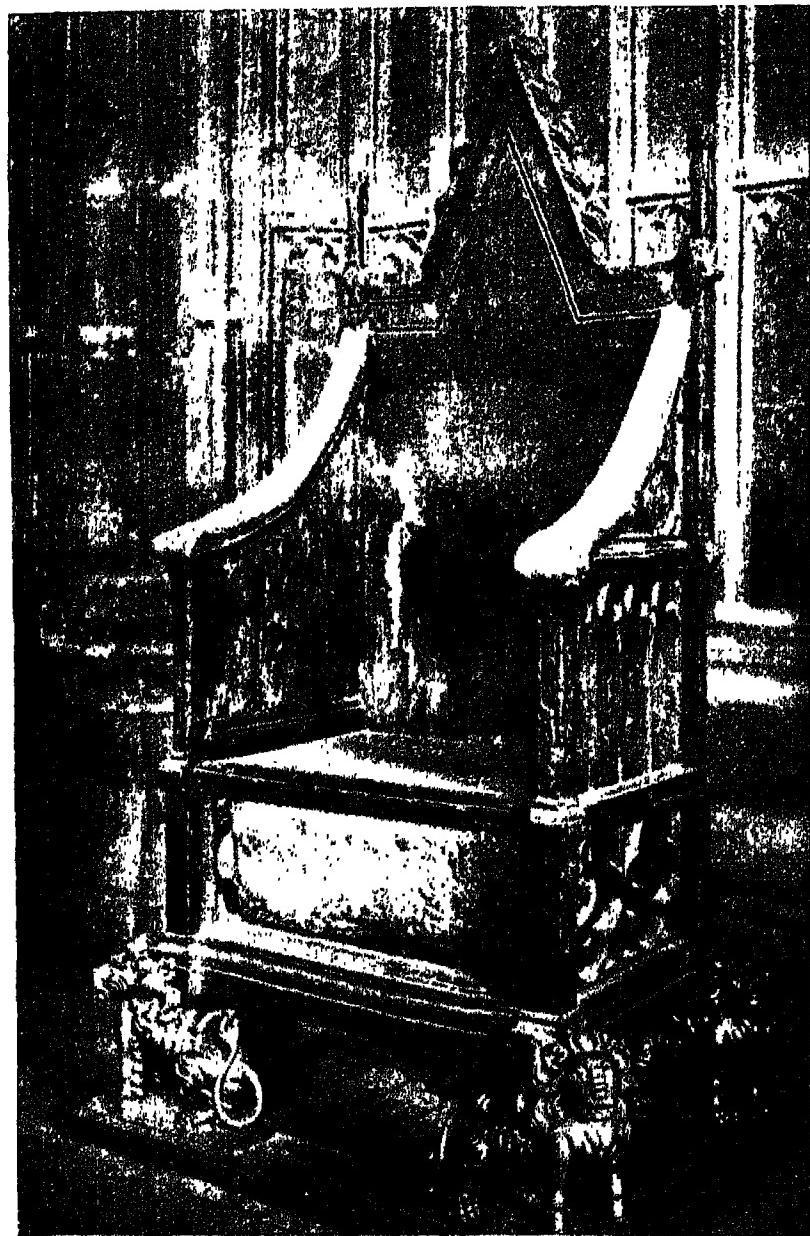
* A confused recollection of this can be traced in Sandford's assertion that King Kenneth "caused it [the Stone] to be enclosed in this [*i.e.* St. Edward's] Wooden Chair."

† Somewhat the same view is taken by William Hutton, the 18th-century visitor from Birmingham, whose account of "St. Edward's Crown" is noticed in Chapter VIII. "The antiquary, who values modern cash less than ancient timber, would give five hundred guineas for this venerable piece of lumber, . . . ; but, under Christie's hammer, at a common auction, it would not bring more than eighteen pence." What staggering sum the Coronation Chair would fetch if it, unthinkably, came up at Christie's to-day, cannot be conjectured. The National Art-Collections Fund would be busy!

Coronation Cavalcade

with his feet on a lion. The Stone of Scone is in a recess beneath the seat of the Chair.

So much has the Chair suffered from mis-handling and mutilation that its original rich effect is entirely destroyed. The gilt base with the lion supports has been restored.



The Chair of St. Edward In which the Kings of England are crowned, was made by Master Walter, the King's painter in 1300-1. Beneath the seat, in a recess, is the Stone of Destiny brought from Scone in 1296 by King Edward I.

Yet though the distinctive outline remains, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to recognize the Chair in most mediæval paintings of coronations or enthroned kings. Probably many of the artists had never set eyes on the Chair. Yet that it is the throne depicted in the fine Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,

MS. 20, showing the coronation of a 14th-century king, cannot be doubted. By a custom of antiquity the Chair is loosely covered with a cloth of gold at Coronations. At one time it became customary for draperies to be nailed to it, which sinful practice contributed much to the damage. Such a barbarity was indulged at Charles II's Coronation; and so recently as the Jubilee celebrations of 1887, the Chair was smartened up with a coat of brown paint, which folly has since been removed, exposing the remnants of the original polychrome.

In days when visitors to Westminster Abbey Church could snatch mementoes from the dead, like the jaw-bone of Richard II, through a hole in his tomb, or fondle (as did Pepys) the shrivelled remains of Katherine of Valois, it was an obvious diversion to rest for a moment in the "Chair of St. Edward." Small scraps of the wood might be taken away as mementoes, or one's name carved on some prominent part of its sacred surface. It was largely a matter of seeing (or evading) the guide. The zealous care with which the treasures of the Abbey

The Stone and the Chair

are guarded to-day makes it difficult to believe that such hideous enormities should have happened at all.

There is a story of how a Westminster boy wagered to pass a night in the Abbey. He had been told that the shades of Cromwell and Bradshaw haunted the fane, whence their corpses had been summarily ejected. Managing to enter the Church, he spent the night there, and whiled away part of his ghostly watch by inscribing the Coronation Chair with: "P. Abbott slept in this Chair 5[-]6 July 1800."

Unfortunately, though there have been many Abbot(t)s at Westminster School, the *Record of Old Westminsters* does not provide one to tally with this. On the other hand, certain Westminsters' names are identifiable amongst those cut upon the sacred relic.

All outrages—or attempted outrages—on "St. Edward's Chair" do not belong to the distant past. In 1914, while the militant Suffragette movement was asserting the fitness of women to the vote by a campaign of violence, an attempt was made to blow up the Chair by means of a bomb. This traitorous act, which might have robbed us of one of our most sacred treasures, proved luckily futile. But, whoever inspired it, it had the effect of still further incensing the populace against the Suffragettes.

I well remember passing Gloucester Road Station, in Kensington, on a day when feeling on this score was running at its height. The date was June 13, 1914, and a woman



Although the Coronation Chair has been so disfigured in the course of time as to have lost almost all its original magnificence, there is no doubt that it is the one shown in this splendid illustration of the Coronation of an English King, from an early 14th-century MS.

(From MS. XX. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.)

had mounted a folding chair to make a suffragist speech. Angry shouts of "Who tried to blow up the Coronation Chair?" were raised; the position was stormed; the speaker hauled down from her perch and mishandled, and her folding chair smashed into fragments. I have one of the scraps to this day.

It is pleasant to reflect that it was not by such an asininely dangerous manœuvre as raising a hand against "St. Edward's Chair" that female suffrage came into being. That consummation was achieved by the devotion and sacrifice of women during the War of 1914-18. During that same war the Stone

Coronation Cavalcade

of Destiny was removed from the Chair and, for greater safety from bombing aircraft, was secured in a stronger part of the Abbey.

The second Coronation Chair has seldom come under the limelight of history. Nevertheless, a few words must be devoted to it. This chair was made for Queen

—already sorely diminished in 1689—and possesses no talismanic property.

Queen Mary II was enthroned, girt with the sword and invested in a manner to demonstrate her equality of rank.

Her sister, the Princess (afterwards Queen) Anne, observed: "Madam, I pity your

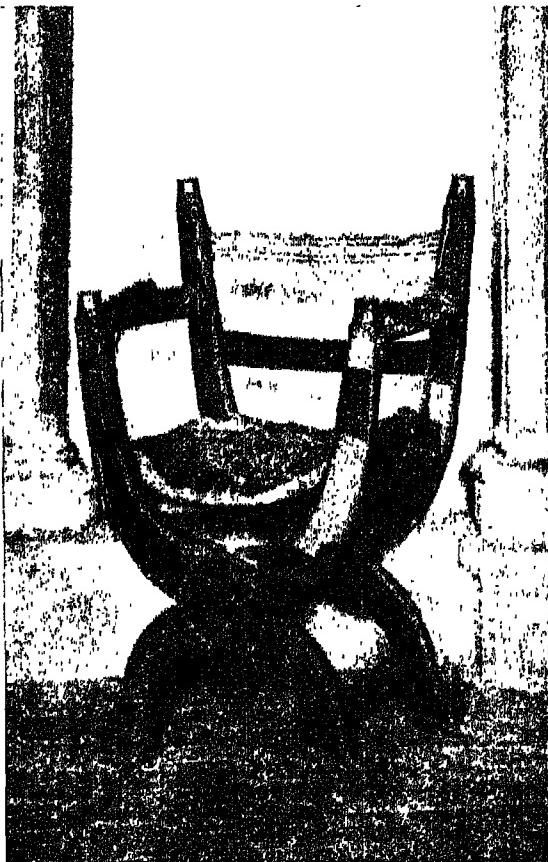
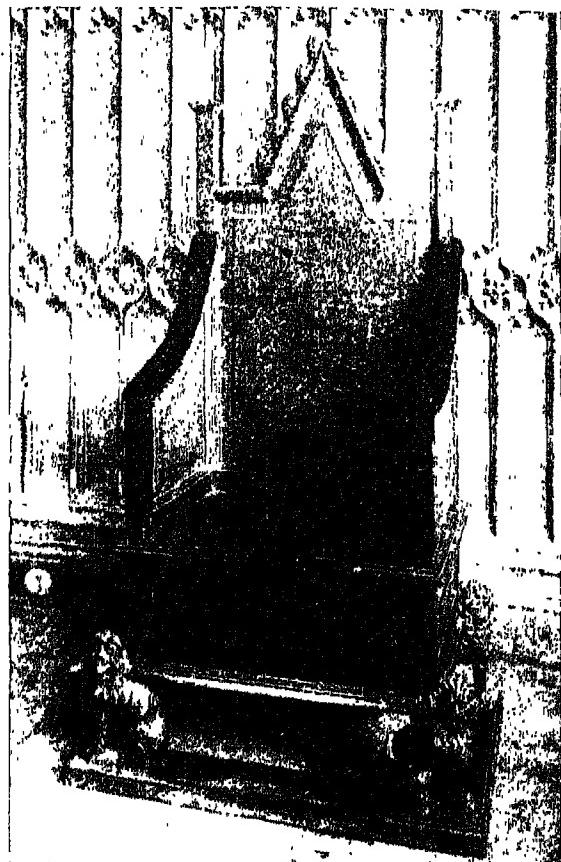


Photo: H. W. Salmon and Son.

The Chairs of Queen Mary I at Winchester, and (right) Queen Mary II at Westminster. While the former seat is not necessarily a Coronation Chair, it was used on the occasion of the Queen's marriage to Philip of Spain in 1554. The latter, however, was made for the Coronation of Queen Mary II in 1689.

Mary II, when she was crowned jointly with her husband, King William III, in 1689. In general outline it follows that of "St. Edward's Chair," but the design embodies the raised-centre panels characteristic of the period in which it was fashioned.

As has been seen, Mary II was, equally with her husband, a monarch. Despite this, the Queen's Chair was made on a smaller scale than "St. Edward's," has never emulated the rich polychromy of the original



Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

fatigues." But Mary tartly responded: "A crown, sister, is not so heavy as it seems."

Yet another queen's ceremonial chair exists, if tradition be valid, at Winchester. The chair of Queen Mary I (of sanguinary epithet) is still preserved in Bishop Gardiner's Chantry at Winchester Cathedral. This seat was used at the celebration of her marriage to Philip of Spain in 1554. It is of the type often, but inaccurately, described as an X-Chair, which term more

The Stone and the Chair

properly applies to the rack seats with straight members intersecting at right angles to one another. The Winchester seat more nearly resembles a figure of eight with the top and bottom loops cut away, and the upper members prolonged.

Stylistically, there is no objection to the Winchester chair having been used in the manner described. It is not a Coronation Chair, unless there be anything in a story which relates it to a seat, specially blessed by the Pope, and sent over for the inauguration of Mary I.

Brief allusion should be made to the disposition of "St. Edward's Chair" at Coronation-tide. Ordinarily, it stands against the screen in the Confessor's Chapel, but for its ceremonial purpose is placed in the *Sacrarium* facing the High Altar of the Church. In earlier times, it was elevated on a tall scaffold or *pulpitum*, erected at the Crossing, and surmounted by a canopy. The Sovereign was thus enthroned well within the sight of everyone present. The conception of a monarch being elevated is extremely ancient, and we know that when Athelstan was crowned at Kingston, a high scaffold was erected in the market-place "for the better exhibition of the prince and of the ceremonies to the people." A similar conception is expressed by the early practice of elevating a king on a shield or stone, so we may presume that, on this occasion, the King's Stone was placed on the scaffold for Athelstan's inauguration.

For a long time past the scaffold has been disused, the last surviving trace of it being the low platform called the "Theatre," erected at the Crossing of the Abbey Church, and whereon certain Thrones are placed and portions of the ceremony solemnized.

Technical elevation still exists in the Coronation ceremony, for at the Inthroniza-



Photo: Bedford Lemere

By kind permission of Howard and Sons, Ltd.

Chairs of State, made in the style of the second half of the 17th century, which stood in the Sacrarium at Westminster and were used by King George V and Queen Mary at their Coronation in 1911. They are seen in use on p. 39.

tion the Monarch is "lifted up" into the Throne by the Archbishops, Bishops, and other peers. Thus is perpetuated a rite, the origins of which are lost in the mists blurring the far horizons of historical record.

In a final glance at stone seats, the old King's Bench should be mentioned. It was at the upper end of Westminster Hall, where the King or the judges of his court dispensed justice. Various kings and queens took their place there, at their Coronations. It is from this that the Court of King's Bench has its title.

CHAPTER XIII

Dresses and Robes

THREE is no difficulty in assuming that the inauguration of an early king would demand his wearing rich and splendid apparel. As time went on, the growth of this or that significance in the rite itself would influence the fashion of various garments.

When the King's Coronation Robes began to assume a traditional form is unknown. Lethaby is probably right in suggesting that some Byzantine element may have been introduced after the "great typical Coronation" of Charlemagne in 800: a suggestion borne out in various ways, including the character of some of the Vestments. Edward the Confessor's act in "laying down" the Regalia would also have had some bearing on the matter. Sporley's (15th century) inventory of the Confessor's Ornaments includes a number of Vestments: his tunicle (*tunica*), *supertunica*, armil (*armilla*), girdle (*zona*), and embroi-

dered pall; as well as a pair of buskins, and a pair of gloves.

In bygone days the King was actually stripped to waist-length his shirt, or even to the skin, to receive unction. During this process a canopy was draped round him to conceal him from the public gaze. After the stripping was abandoned, the canopy was held over the royal head during this part of the ceremony.

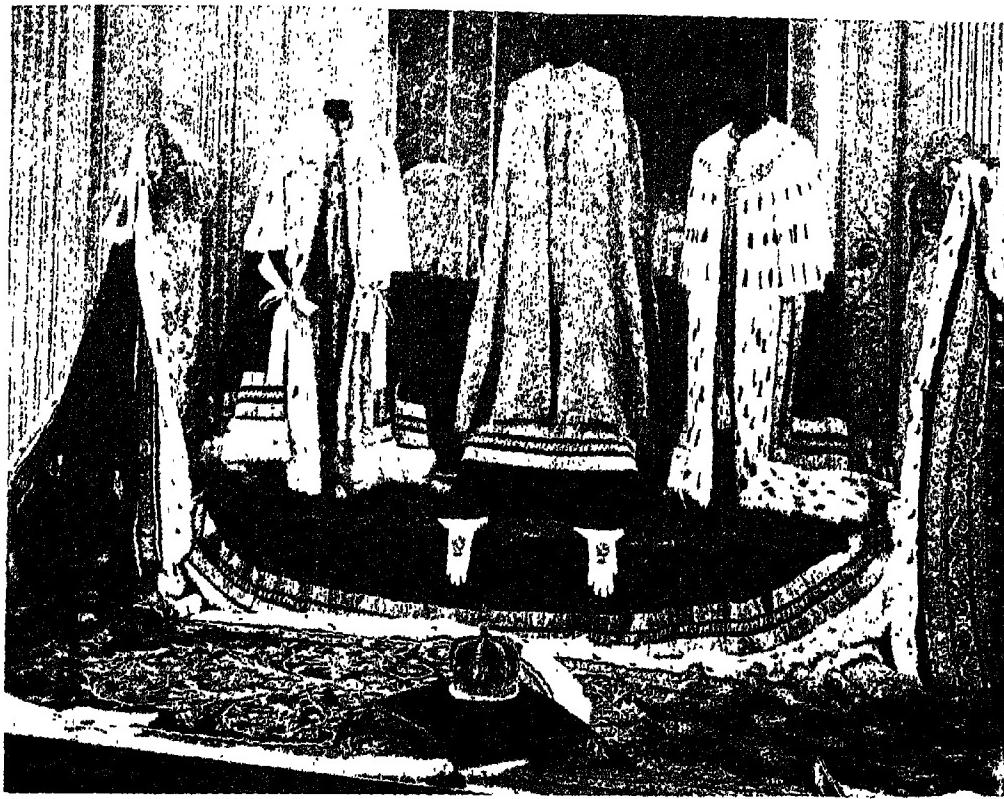
What happened was this: When the King came to Coronation, he was wearing his Parliament Robes. His clothing was rent apart by the archbishop, and put off him, down to his shirt, which was torn, at least to the waist.

In early times unction was probably applied to the head only; but later, the head, hands and breast were specified, to which later still were added the inside of the elbows, the shoulders and that part of the back between them. This list is now modified to head, hands and breast.



King Henry II in his Coronation Robes — he was crowned on December 19, 1154.
After Cotton MS. Vitellius A. XIII. British Museum

Dresses and Robes



London Museum.

Robes worn at two Coronations. (Left to right) Dress and purple Robe worn by H.M. Queen Mary; Robes of Estate of King George V (see also illustration p. 105); Supertunica, Stole and Imperial Pall worn by King Edward VII; Robes of Estate of King Edward VII; Dress and Robe of Queen Alexandra. (In front) Gloves presented by the Duke of Newcastle in "Glove and Sceptre" Serjeanty to King George V and King Edward VII (see also illustration, page 128); Queen Alexandra's Crown.

After the unction the anointed parts were dried, excepting the head, which was covered with a lawn coif. Not until the eighth day later was this coif removed and the head ceremonially washed; by that time the Chrism may be said to have been assimilated. The coif (at the Coronation itself) was still in use at George III's consecration.

The moment of donning the gloves has varied. According to one conception, their proper use was to protect the Chrism on the hands. But by no means always were they assumed at this point of the ceremony.

The unction completed, the Monarch was clad in the special Vestments which are really what one means when one speaks of

Coronation Robes. Their relation to the Robes of Estate is roughly the same as that of the Sacred to the Privy Regalia. Here let me say that this brief account makes no attempt to indicate all the changes, developments, and modifications in the form or use of the Vestments from time to time. To do so would be to embark on a sea of technicalities. Those who wish to know more of such matters should consult St. John Hope's valuable papers on *The King's Coronation Ornaments*, in *The Ancestor*, or the relevant portions of Wickham Legg's *English Coronation Records*. I shall do no more than indicate the principal items which a student will encounter, though some of these are now obsolete.

Coronation Cavalcade

After the *capi*, there was donned the *colobium sindonis*: often called the dalmatic, but properly the alb or rochet of sindon. This is now sleeveless, as its name, *colobium*, implies, but a good many references, mainly mediæval, belie the detail.

Next came the *supertunica*, or close pall: a long, sleeved garment; then the "Tinsin hose" and the sandals—buskins have a lengthy Imperial tradition; the girdle, or sword-belt; the stole; and the *pallium*, open or Imperial pall.

The stole is known as the *armil*. St. John Hope suggested that this name was derived from the *armilles* or bracelets, which "by some process not now to be traced" became "attached to and part of the stole." (*The Ancestor*.)

The *pallium* was a cope-like vestment, but made four-square, typifying the four corners of the earth as subject to God. The interpretation of this was that the King could not happily rule who lacked authority from Heaven. The *pallium* is powdered with Royal Badges, and here it has been customary to introduce the eagle, in allusion to the King's Imperial nature—quite separate, of course, from the Emperorship of India. He is Imperial as King of all Britain, a position claimed or enjoyed by various of the Saxon monarchs, some of whom followed the Byzantine emperors in using the title of *Basileus*. But, of course, the British Empire has given a far wider significance to the idea. Since the Roman eagles shadowed the world with their wings, they have been widely used as an Imperial symbol. In England their ornamental usage on royal robes is of high antiquity. According to an inventory of 1388, one of the *tres cape* in which the Confessor was buried was enriched with golden eagles. And though it has no direct bearing on the point, we can but recall that in 1256 Richard Earl of Cornwall, second son of King John, was elected King of the Romans, and in that capacity scattered his eagle device on numerous tiles and other ornamental features in this country. (His issue is extinct, but it has been claimed that

the baronets Cornwall are descended from a natural son of his.)

To somewhere about the same date, the middle of the 13th century, belongs the famous series of heraldic shields in the nave of Westminster Abbey. Conspicuous among these is the *sable eagle on a field gold*, as borne by Cornwall as King of the Romans, but in this instance assigned to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II, who may have been a benefactor of the Abbey. And the arms of the Empire, quartering Bohemia, again appear on the tester of the tomb of Richard II, where they are impaled with the old coat of England. For Richard of Bordeaux's beloved first wife was Anne of Bohemia, daughter of the Emperor Charles IV. Thus and thuswise did the successor to the elder Empire of Rome—of which ancienter empire Britain was once a province—leave its traces on the great English minster.

St. John Hope lamented in *The Ancestor* that for the post-anointing Vestments, "that most unsuitable and intractable material, cloth of gold," has been substituted for the "beautiful silks with their graceful and clinging folds;" yet Richard III and his consort donned cloth of gold after unction.

The rending of the pre-anointment garments, to which allusion has been made, was naturally somewhat destructive. It therefore occurred to some nimble mind to make the undergarments with appropriate vents whereby the prelate's hand could be admitted at the anointing. These vents were fastened with laces.

For the sake of example: James II's surcoat of rich crimson satin was made in this way. "There was also [formerly] provided a Crimson Sarcenet Shirt with Sleeves, opened in all respects like to the Sattin Surcoat, with Ribbands affixt for closing the several Openings after the Anointing, to be worn next under the Sattin Surcoat: But this not having been used at the last Coronations, viz. of King Charles the First and Second, was likewise omitted now, being conceived unnecessary, unless for warmth in the Winter Season." (Sandford.)

Dresses and Robes

In Queen Victoria's case unction was applied to the head and hands only.

At the close of the ceremony, and before leaving the Church, the King proceeds to the Traverse prepared for him in the Confessor's Chapel. On requisite occasions there are two of these Traverses or retiring rooms, one for the King, the other for the Queen. There the King puts off the Vestments and dons his Robes of Estate. Whereafter, with the Imperial Crown on his head, and the Sceptre and Orb in his hands, he walks in procession to the West Door, and so leaves the Abbey.

In regard to the Robes and Vestments in general, several interesting points might be noted. I shall limit myself to a few, as, for instance, the use of red in various items of both the Vestments and the personal attire. Red samite for the pall or mantle (*pallium regale*), the stole, and other Ornaments, is often specified in the records, and, as a royal colour, needs no comment. It extended also, if not invariably, to the King's leg wear. "Stockings of red samite with an orphrey"—or a species of "clock"—were in Henry III's Regalia (Legg). Richard III wore a "paire of hosen"—"tights," as we should now say—of crimson sarcenet. Both Charles II and James II were conspicuously red-legged. Sandford's account of the provisions for the second James' Coronation (corresponding in this detail with Walker's of the Merry Monarch's) mentions: "A Pair of Under Trowsers, and Breeches over them, with Stockings fastned to the Trowsers, all of Crimson Silk."

To summarize all the known colours of the royal robes and attire would be both lengthy and tedious. It should at least be mentioned that the use of the Imperial purple, if not continuous, is ancient in this country, going back well into Saxon times. Its derivation from a pre-classical antiquity need be no more than alluded to here. Our phrase, "born in the purple," as freely indicating a person whose rank or position is not a matter of personal acquisition, is in itself a testimony to the esteem with which this hue is regarded.

When, prior to the destruction of the old Regalia, the Parliament took its inventory in 1649, several interesting Vestments were listed. A "Crimson taffaty Robe very old" was priced at 10/-, as was a "Robe laced wth gould Lace"; but "One Liuor [liver] Cull^{ed} silke Robe very old and worth nothing."



National Portrait Gallery, London.
King Henry III—who rebuilt Westminster Abbey—in
his anointing vestments.

From a cast of his effigy, by William Torel, in Westminster Abbey.

was contemptuously assessed at as much. Its gold tassels, neck button, and pearls were, however, separately valued at a total of £13. Five shillings was the sum set against a "Robe of Crimson taffaty sarcenett"; two shillings, a pair of cloth of silver buskins with silver stockings, "very old"; the like sum, a pair of "shoos" of cloth of gold. (Legg.)

Coronation Cavalcade

We have not in this country a royal wardrobe as old and extensive as that enshrined in the *Livrustkammaren* at Stockholm. Yet a considerable number of interesting Coronation relics have been preserved here. George IV's Surcoat and Stole are at Windsor.* In the London Museum may be seen his Coronation Shoes, sundry Coronation Robes and Vestments of Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and Queen

are red. "The First Gentleman in Europe's" robes were specially designed for the occasion and were exceeding ponderous and costly.

When the King entered Westminster Hall at ten o'clock he was "wearing a black hat with a monstrous plume of ostrich feathers, out of the midst of which rose a black heron's plume. His Majesty seemed very much oppressed with the weight of his robes. The train was of enormous length and breadth. It was of crimson velvet adorned with large golden stars, and a broad golden border. His Majesty frequently wiped his face while he remained seated.



Alexandra, King George V and Queen Mary; the dress worn by the Princess Royal, Countess of Harewood, at the last-mentioned event; and the Lord Mayor of London's state robe of crimson velvet with a shoulder cape of miniver, worn by Sir Thomas Vezey Strong, on the same occasion. For full descriptions of these, Miss Thalassa Cruso's catalogue of the Costume in the London Museum should be consulted.

Queen Victoria's Coronation stockings were of white silk, with the Royal cypher in gold thread. Her shoes are of purple velvet, embroidered with rose-buds and the Royal Arms of England in gold thread on the toes. Inside, "All hail Victoria" is worked in gold thread. George IV's Coronation shoes are of silver tissue lined with white satin, with laced tie in front. The heels



LONDON MUSEUM

Queen Victoria's Coronation Shoes, of purple velvet embroidered with rose-buds: Inside "All hail Victoria" is worked in gold thread. King George IV's Coronation Shoes (top) are of silver tissue lined with white satin and have red heels.

[The supply of handkerchiefs for the royal face mopping seems to have been prodigious.] He went through the ceremonics . . . with much spirit and apparent good humour. In descending the steps of the platform his Majesty seemed very feeble, and requested the aid and support of an officer who was near him. Instead of standing under the canopy, his Majesty, perhaps afraid of the awkwardness of the barons [of the Cinque Ports], preceded it. The canopy was therefore always borne after him. When his

*In Windsor Castle, also, is a slashed tunic, which can be iconographically related to George IV. Also two capes, ensigned with the Star of the Garter, which are assumed to have been used as ceremonial riding cloaks in Hanover. These three interesting items were presented to King George V by the Hon. George Bellew, M.V.O., Somerset Herald, who has favoured me with some notes upon them. We know from Greville that George IV's wardrobe was vast—he was an inveterate hoarder—and was sold after his death for no less than £10,000.

Dresses and Robes

Majesty had got a little way down the Hall, he turned to his train-bearers, and requested them to bear his train farther from him, apparently with a view to relieve himself from the weight. As he went down the Hall he conversed with much apparent cheerfulness with the Bishop of Lincoln, who was on his right hand." (*Giles Gossip.*)

It was George's intention to grace the ceremonial with every circumstance of

An instance of this can be studied in the London Museum, where is the dress of a Harbinger worn by Colonel Samuel Wilson at "Prinney's" crowning. By royal command, this was a "replica" of that as used at Henry VIII's Coronation. It is a rich affair of red and blue velvet, gold laced and brass studded; but "replica" it is not, except in intention. Similar dresses can be noted in certain of Nayler's plates. (Colonel Wilson also served the office of Harbinger at William



King George IV wearing his Royal Robes and a fanciful Cap of Estate. His huge train is carried by eight eldest sons of peers, assisted by the Master of the Robes.

(From the engraving by E. Scriven, after Stephanoff, in Nayler's "The Coronation of George IV," 1839.)

grandeur. Even Nayler's illustrated record of the event, a sumptuous book which was never properly completed, was priced at the immodest sum of fifty guineas and proved a sorry loss. But the most interesting aspect of this Coronation is that George proposed to confer on it a "mediæval" aspect, or what then passed as such, for unkindly critics have described the effect as being more in the spirit of Astley's Circus. Ruffs were bestowed on the Yeomen of the Guard, and various uniforms and dresses were cut and slashed in what were fondly believed to be antique modes.

IV's and Queen Victoria's Coronations. The office was not revived for King Edward VII's.)

By way of contrast to the extreme elaboration of King George IV's Robes, the dapper little Vestments of Queen Victoria may be cited. The Tunicle is interesting as its fashion was altered into the likeness of a woman's garment. It is made of cloth of gold, with a leaf pattern enclosing the Badges of the three Kingdoms. The lining is of rose-coloured silk. The Imperial Pall is also of cloth of gold, powdered with dimidiated red and white Tudor Roses, and

Coronation Cavalcade

Thistles and Shamrocks in appropriate colours. In addition to these there appear

same metal.
fringed with

Both Tunicle and Pall are either gold lace or bullion. With other robes and vestments they are on view in the London Museum. Silver eagles also figured among the devices on the Stole.

As now used, the Peers' Coronation mantles are of crimson velvet, lined with white taffeta, and edged with miniver, the cape being furred with miniver pure. They are differentiated by the number of rows of ermine on the cape: four for a Duke; three and a half for a Marquess; three for an Earl; two and a half for a Viscount; and two for a Baron. Such precision has arisen since times when a peer would naturally don his most splendid attire for a Coronation. We need not go into full details, but it should be understood that Peers' robes were not always as now.

By way of example, the Coronation mantles of Barons may be cited. Stimulated by Charles II's grant to the baronage of its now familiar coronet, various barons approached James II in the matter of their robes. Their request, which was granted for James's Coronation, was made in the early part of 1684. It was that they might "wear their Robes of Velvet instead of Cloth, (as the Earls do) with the usual Distinction of Bars of Meniver," i.e. "With Capes of Meniver Powdred with two Bars or Rows of Ermine."



National Portrait Gallery, London.

Queen Victoria in her Coronation Robes--she wears the State Crown and holds the Sceptre Royal.
(From the painting by Sir George Hayter.)

the traditional eagles, though by a late convention now these are of silver. Gold eagles could not be displayed on a field of the

Peccresses' robes are similarly controlled. More will be said about this in Chapter XXVII. There are certain differences be-



Photo: W. & D. Downey.

KING GEORGE V AND QUEEN MARY IN THEIR CORONATION ROBES.

The King's Robes of Estate are of purple velvet trimmed with ermine and gold lacing; the Queen's white satin dress is embroidered with a floral pattern in gold and her purple velvet mantle and train worked with a design in gold thread embodying the Tudor Rose, Thistle and Shamrock.

Coronation Cavalcade

tween the respective depths of edgings, and lengths of the trains, according to rank.

As regards ecclesiastical vestments, it is noteworthy that Westminster Abbey possesses a number of copes associated with past Coronations. Three of tissue, unembroidered, are thought to have been used at Charles I's crowning. If this be uncertain, it is virtually positive that the celebrated series, some of crimson and some of purple velvet, heavily embroidered in silver and gold, were made for Charles II's Coronation. They possess a peculiar liturgical interest as post-Reformation vestments made for use in the Church of England before the Oxford Movement of the 19th century, which celebrated its centenary in 1933. Also at the Abbey are the seven red and gold copes, particularly familiar to Old Westminsters, which were designed for Edward VII's Coronation by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.

At the risk of going beyond the bounds of my subject, it may be as well to add a few words about the privilege of remaining covered in the Royal presence. Such a privilege has been claimed for the Lords Kingsale and the Lords Forester. In certain obscure cases involving the production of articles of attire, or other objects, one is inclined to suspect an origination in some forgotten serjeanty; but the "Forester Hat" is quickly disposed of. John Forester, who died in 1591, suffered from ringworm and was graciously allowed by bluff King Hal to appear covered on that account. The Kingsale claim involves the "Courcy hat," which takes us back picturesquely to when Philip of France summoned John of England to mortal combat.

It became a matter of champions, the principals watching with relish. John had picked John de Courcy from prison for the purpose, and on seeing his bulk, the French champion cried off. Whereupon,

just to prove his mettle, Courcy dumped his helmet on a post, and clove it with his sword, which bit deep into the wood beneath. For this John gave Courcy his freedom, with the somewhat uncomfortable privilege of never doffing his bonnet again before king or subject. This privilege is supposed to have carried to Courcy's descendants.

Such is the tale, and those even slightly accustomed to antiquarian studies will recognize its nature at once. The claim is over two hundred and forty years old, but its continuity before then is unknown to the present writer.

At George III's Coronation, the Earl of Erroll, High Constable of Scotland, accidentally omitted to remove his cap at the King's entry. For this, the Earl, who was accounted the handsomest man in Britain, respectfully apologized; but the King requested him to be covered as he regarded Erroll's "presence at the solemnity as a very particular honour." Erroll's father was that Earl of Kilmarnock who suffered for his share in "the Forty-five": a memory of the axe and the block which neither side wished to aggravate at this Coronation.

Here was a decent exchange of courtesies, but there is a well-known anecdote of how another peer, who shall be nameless, recklessly entered Queen Victoria's presence in his hat.* He explained that it was his hereditary right to remain covered before his sovereign.

"But surely, my lord, not when your sovereign is a lady!" retorted the Queen. Her Majesty won!

* A similar anecdote has been told of George IV, the monarch alluding in this case to the ladies present. For the interesting precedents of Head Masters of Westminster being covered before their pupils when a King was visiting the School, see (*inter al.*) Lawrence E. Tanner: *Westminster School, Its Buildings and their Associations* (1923).



The Coronation of King William III and Queen Mary II on April 11, 1689, which was neither the prescribed Sunday nor Holy Day—a circumstance of which the Jacobites made capital. The Queen is seen in the centre background and the King under the canopy on the right.

From the etching by Romsey de Hooghe.

CHAPTER XIV

Coronation Days

NO day of the week is specially reserved for Coronations. Before the Reformation, as on certain occasions since, the event usually took place on a Sunday, one of the Feasts of the Church, or that of the name-saint of the

Monarch. Indeed, the use of Sundays or holy days was enjoined in the rubrics of the *Liber Regalis*; and as late as the inauguration of William and Mary, it was remarked as a sinister portent that their Coronation fell on neither of such occasions. It naturally

Coronation Cavalcade

suiting the Royal pair's Jacobite opponents to insist on such a view.

William the Conqueror's first Coronation, at Westminster, occurred on a Christmas Day (Monday); but in mediæval and Tudor times most of our monarchs were crowned on a Sunday.

Next, in order of numerical importance, is Thursday. Stephen was crowned on the Feast of St. Stephen, which fell on this day. Thursday monarchs have also included Richard II, Charles I, James II (and Mary of Modena), William and Mary, and Anne. But the popular notion that Thursday was specially favoured by the Georges is far from the fact. George I, and George II and Queen Caroline, were alike crowned on Wednesday; George III and Queen Charlotte on Tuesday. However, George IV was installed on a Thursday, as were William IV and Queen Adelaide, Queen Victoria and King George V and Queen Mary. King Edward VII's postponed Coronation fell on a Saturday.

When queens-consort have been crowned apart from their lords, Sunday is again the most prominent day. The mediæval mentality was extremely susceptible to portents and omens, and where other days of the week have been employed for Coronations in general, it was usually for some specific reason.

One of the pleasantest pictures of a Coronation known to me occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Edgar, the Saxon, was installed at Kingston, as we have seen; but later had another hallowing at Bath. The following translation, after Taylor, gives some idea of the alliterative, metrical form of song which roused our Saxon ancestors. As is the case with Latin verse, the rhythm takes precedence, when necessary, of the continuity of the sense.

"Here Edgar was
(Of Angles wielder !*)
With mickle pomp
To king yhallowed

* Wielder=Lord.

*In the old borough
Alchemans-chester,
But those who dwell there
In other word
Bath name it.
There was bliss mickle
On that happy day.
Caused to all
Which sons of men
Name and call
Pentecost-day.
There was of priests a heap,
Of monks much crowd,
I understand,
Of wise ones gathered.
And then was gone
Ten hundred winters
Told of rime
From the birth-tide
Of the illustrious king,
The Lord of Light,
But that there left
Then yet was
Of winter-tale,
As writings say,
Seven and twenty;
So nigh then was
Of the Lord of Glory
A thousand run
When this befell.
And Edmund's son
Had nine and twenty
(Brave men of deeds !)
Winters in world
When this took place:
And in the thirtieth
Was hallowed king."*

Coronation omens, such as that remarked at William and Mary's installation, form an interesting study. William Jones, that omnivorous gleaner of everything to do with crowning, devoted an entire chapter to them in his *Crowns & Coronations*. If I do not follow his example in this respect, it is because many of them are of dubious value. I am not so unintelligent as to deny validity to every portent of future happenings. Now and again, things happen

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which are inexplicable on so-called "normal" grounds. That some omens bring about their own fulfilment is undoubted; but that others seem to involve an abjection from the future to the present must also be considered. This, I know, has very much the air of a contradiction in terms; but, for all our scientific knowledge, we are still considerably in the dark on matters affecting the continuity of what we label "time."

Speculation on such grounds would be futile here, and it must be admitted that, in the troublous past, it was not difficult to pick out portents after the event. Sometimes, too, such omens were not recorded until much later, and by interested parties. Thus, in many cases, it is safer not to draw hard and fast deductions from the records.

That the fire and bloodshed at William the Conqueror's Coronation should be held to have foretold the troubles of his reign is logical. Troubles were to be expected anyhow, and more or less ensued as a matter of course. Nor was there any difficulty in explaining, afterwards, the significance of the tempests which raged at the Coronations of Henry V and Charles II, the one heralding the wars and disturbances of that reign, and the other the roar of the Dutch cannon and the shameful destruction of our fleet in the land-locked Medway. Moreover, the inter-

necine conflicts between Stephen and Matilda were easily referable to sundry gloomy happenings reputed to have accompanied Stephen's Coronation. Most impressive of these were the dropping of the Host and the omission of the kiss of peace.



The Coronation of the young King Henry VI, on November 6, 1429.
(From a 15th-century pencil drawing in Rouet's Cotton MS. Julius E. IV. British Museum.)

If the chroniclers can be relied upon, Richard *Cœur-de-Lion*'s Coronation was anything but auspicious. It was held on an "Egyptian day," one of those accounted profoundly unlucky; bells pealed without warranty; and a bat fluttered about the Throne during the ceremonial. A pogrom of the Jews can scarcely have added to the gaiety of the event. Though the chosen

Coronation Cavalcade

race had been strictly forbidden to approach the ceremony, some of them attempted to pass into the hall where the feast was to be held. They were angrily driven out, and riots started, culminating in a massacre. All of which befell when, as Langtoft puts it:

*"In a moneth mirie,
Septembre the gynnyng,
Bandyn of Canterbury
Com to coroune the kyng."*

John displayed unseemly levity at his Coronation, and went away without receiving the Blessed Sacrament. Part of the ceremonial then consisted in investiture with a spear, which he let fall in his merriment. Some years later he was forced by the French to abandon Normandy. Everything considered, there is no cause for wonderment that John has been accounted an unlucky name for kings, both here and in France. We have never had another; and it is dreadful to recall that, in our own time, poor innocent Prince John, youngest brother of our own King George VI, died untimely in 1919, before he was fourteen.

Edward II's Coronation was marred by various disorders, assigned to the ill-management of his favourite, Piers Gaveston, who bore St. Edward's Crown. So great was the pressure of the crowd that a knight named Sir John Bakewell was crushed to death. This particular fatality can scarcely be laid at the infamous Gaveston's door, as similar cases occurred on other occasions.

Richard of Bordeaux's fatigue after his Coronation may be accounted a presage of the sorry collapse of his reign. But it can be sufficiently accounted for by the length of the ceremony, and the obligation to receive the Sacrament fasting. He had to be carried back to the palace on the shoulders of knights. But after dinner he recovered sufficiently to retire to his chamber, where he was entertained with dancing and minstrelsy till supper-time. On this occasion a hollow marble pillar was erected in the palace. It was capped by a large gilt eagle, "from under

the feet of which, through the four sides of the capital, flowed wine of different kinds during the day; nor was anyone forbidden to partake of it."

Before Henry V's Coronation some of the peers hastened to proffer their homage prior to the ceremony: an act, according to Hall, "not before experimented." But when Edward VI was crowned, the "Recognition" was omitted from the ceremony; and his half-sister, Mary I, wore a headdress so heavy with gems that she was fain to support her head with her hand.

Some idea of bygone impressiveness is obtainable from accounts of Richard III's Coronation. Before the Banquet the King and Queen retired for a space. "During which time the duke of Norfolk came into the hall, his horse being trapped to the ground in clothe of golde, as high marshall, and voyded the hall." It is amusing to contrast this picture with that of Earl Talbot, the Lord High Steward at George III's Banquet. Talbot's mount had been carefully trained to back out of the Royal presence. Indeed, it had been too carefully trained, for it entered the Hall tail foremost, presenting its rump to the High Table in the most disconcerting manner. A more pleasing feature of this Coronation was the fact that George III was crowned by Archbishop Secker, who had baptized, confirmed and married him—probably a record. Furthermore, some discussion having arisen as to whether or not the King should lay aside the Crown before receiving the Sacrament, His Majesty decided to do so, thus creating a definite precedent.

Apropos of which, it is noteworthy that Anne of Denmark declined to receive the Sacrament when her husband, James VI of Scotland, was crowned as King James I of England. Her objection was sincere. She had changed her faith once already and would not change again. Storm and plague raged at the time of this accession; but far more ominous was that of Charles I. A catalogue of portents then ensued, not the least being that he chose to be crowned in

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white. Now white may be the hue of innocence, but it was supposed to be unlucky for English kings and queens. Whether Charles' choice was due to Laud's advice (as Lilly, the astrologer, stated), or whether because the supply of purple velvet had run short, is immaterial.* The King wore white; and when his coffin was being carried into St. George's Chapel at Windsor, the black velvet pall was whitened by a snowfall. Call it a coincidence, if you please; I shall not gainsay you. But, ye gods, what a coincidence was then!

Besides a tempest, Charles II's Coronation was less impressively orchestrated by various quarrels which arose amongst the train. Footmen and the Barons of the Cinque Ports fell to quarrelling for the canopy; and, at James II's Coronation, the canopy was rent in twain, though there was no obvious cause for the disaster.

Like his father's, James' Coronation was a catalogue of mishaps. The Crown, which was too large for him, nearly fell off his head; the Champion measured his length upon the floor; and so forth. But the fact that, two Coronations later, good Queen Anne had to be carried to her crowning was nothing marvellous. The poor Royal lady was exceeding gouty and corpulent.

It was at James II's Coronation that a memorable custom was introduced which has obtained ever since. To the boys of Westminster School—St. Peter's College, Westminster—is assigned the privilege of being the first to raise their voices in acclamation of their Sovereign. Westminster

School is a very ancient foundation, though how ancient nobody knows. It was certainly in existence in the mid-14th century, and many years before Richard of Bordeaux was crowned. It was refounded



Admission Card to Westminster Hall for the Banquet of King George III and Queen Charlotte on September 22, 1761. The King was crowned by Archbishop Secker, who had baptized, confirmed and married him.

by King Henry VIII and, again, by Queen Elizabeth, and boasts a superb tradition of loyalty to the Throne. Close to the very heart of Republican government, and not

*Accounts of the King's attire and robes are discrepant, but Lilly challenged anyone to deny that he wore white apparel.

Coronation Cavalcade

more than an hour or two before the Martyr King's head was struck off in Whitehall, the School knelt publicly praying for him in the ancient *dorter* of the monastery, which is still the centre of its corporate life. When Charles II was crowned, the *Ampul* was carried by Dr. Busby, the School's immortal Head Master, in virtue of his Westminster Prebendaryship.

It is, therefore, easy to accept the tradition that James II allotted the School its service of acclamation lest there should be a dearth of seemly cheering. The Westminsters could be relied upon to set the ball a-rolling. And so, as Sandford says: "It is to be noted that when the QUEEN entered the *Choir*, the *King's Scholars* of *Westminster-School*, in Number Forty, all in *Surplices*, being placed in a *Gallery* adjoining to the *Great Organ-Loft*, Entertained Her MAJESTY with this short Prayer or Salutation, VIVAT REGINA MARIA; which they continued to Sing until His MAJESTY entered the *Choir*, whom they entertained in like manner with this Prayer or Salutation, VIVAT JACOBUS REX, which they continued to sing until His MAJESTY ascended the *Theatre*." We know from Sandford, too, that the decorations of the Abbey on this occasion included some tapestries then in the use of the School, but now in that of the Chapter.

Originally restricted to King's Scholars, the privilege of acclamation was extended to Town Boys at George IV's Coronation. So that now both sides of the School are represented, when their hailing cry assails the vaulting of the Abbey.

From what Sandford says, it is evident that for the *Vivats* to be sung is the correct method. For King George V's and Queen Mary's Coronation the *Vivats* were set to music, the boys being carefully rehearsed by Sir Frederick Bridge, the Abbey's Organist.

On the day itself the Town Boys went straight to their places in the Triforium; but, on the other hand, the King's Scholars headed the Regalia Procession from the

Jerusalem Chamber, through the Cloisters, and into the Abbey Church, where they joined their fellows in the Triforium. Apart from the *Vivats*, the boys started the acclamations at other parts of the service, and, as Tanner reminds us, Dr. Gow, the then Head Master, led the cheering at the conclusion.

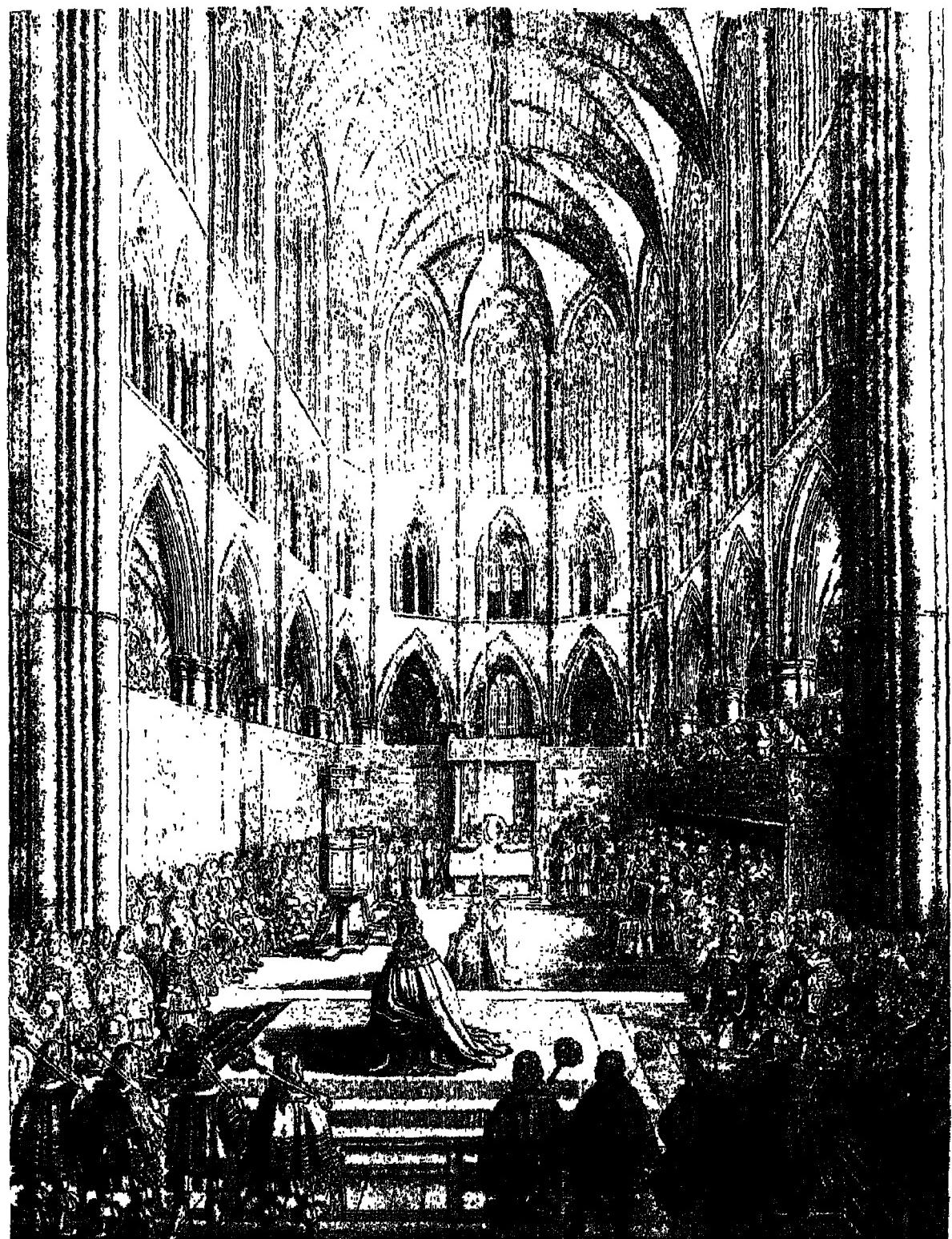
The Regalia Procession is a reminder of the time when the Sacred Ornaments were kept at Westminster. The Jewels are brought from the Tower to the Jerusalem Chamber, where they repose for the night before the great event. When all is over, they are lodged once again in the Wakefield Tower. (See illustration, page 14.)

If we except the supposed acceptance of the Challenge at George III's Banquet, later Coronations have, in the main, been less dramatic. The outstanding exception was when George IV's Consort, Caroline of Brunswick, tried to enter the Abbey, and was refused, as the following chapter will tell us. When the lame Matress of Anglesey was carrying "St. Edward's Crown," he nearly dropped the great, heavy thing, loaded with glittering gems.

Though nicknamed the "Half-Coronation" on account of its curtailed ceremonial, the Coronation of William IV is memorable for a certain event. When the Crown was placed on "The Sailor King's" head, a message was telegraphed to Portsmouth, where, within three minutes, a royal salute was fired, the king being still seated on the throne.* Before the introduction of the electric telegraph some years later, a semaphore system was used, which, as was shewn in this instance, could develop a high rate of speed. With radio, including television, now at our service to broadcast future Coronations to the ends of the earth, such bygone triumphs should not be forgotten. For a long time the crowning has been announced to the nation by the firing of cannon.

Queen Victoria's Coronation Day was

* M. F. Johnston: *Coronation of a King*.



THE CORONATION OF KING CHARLES II IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY ON ST. GEORGE'S DAY, APRIL 23, 1661.
Stormy weather accompanied the ceremony and disorder occurred among the bearers of the canopy. It will be
remarked that the King is depicted twice in this illustration.

(Detail from the engraving by Holler, in Ogilby's "Entertainment.")

Coronation Cavalcade

heralded by a bird which flew about over Buckingham Palace. William Jones, who mentions the incident in *Crowns & Coronations*, says that some old lady "declared it to be a *goose*," whereupon a dismayed chorus arose at the unlucky omen. "There will surely be some accident, or the poor dear soul—God bless her!—will not long survive the ceremony."

That was in 1838, and as Queen Victoria had the longest reign in history, it looks as though that portent went wrong somewhere.

One pleasing incident at her Coronation happened after the Homage, when each peer, in order, put off his coronet, and touched the State Crown on the Queen's head, before stooping to kiss Her Majesty's hand. When the aged Lord Rolle's turn arrived, he stumbled in ascending the Theatre and fell back on the floor. He was immediately raised, and on making his second essay was met by the Queen, who rose and came down to meet him.

This thoughtful and generous action profoundly stirred all who witnessed it.

By a coincidence a similar accident took

place at King Edward VII's Coronation. After paying his homage, the venerable Archbishop Temple was unable to rise, and was graciously helped to his feet by the King.

A noteworthy feature of this Coronation was the erection of a temporary annexe in the Gothic manner, and set with statues of the Edwards, outside the West door of the Abbey. It aroused some criticism at the time, but was designed to conflict as little as possible with its surroundings. Since Westminster Hall ceased to be the gathering place for the Foot Procession, the provision of an annexe to the Abbey itself has become a necessity. Here the Procession is formed, and here the King alights from his Coach to walk in it.

Prominent and very necessary officials at Coronations are the ushers, whose duty is to show members of the congregation to their places. To hold this office, which is in the appointment of the Earl Marshal, is in itself a distinction, and the wand which forms the distinguishing badge becomes the bearer's property.

CHAPTER XV

Banning a Queen!

THOUGH some of our Queens-Consort were never crowned, there was but a single occasion when the wife of a reigning Monarch tried to enter Westminster Abbey at Coronationtide by a process which came nigh to "gate-crashing."

King George IV's marriage—he was then Prince of Wales—with his cousin, Caroline of Brunswick, was anything but a happy affair. "Prinney," whose affections were very much elsewhere, had a morganatic wife, Mrs. Fitzherbert, in the background. Under the terms of the Royal Marriage Act, he was officially free to marry within his own rank, and, much against his will, was persuaded to do so.

His espousal of Caroline of Brunswick took place in 1795, and in 1796 their daughter, Princess Charlotte of Wales, was born. Had this Princess lived neither William IV nor Queen Victoria might have come to the throne. But Charlotte, who had married Leopold of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld (afterwards Leopold I, King of the Belgians), died in childbed in 1817, and thus left the way open.

Meanwhile "Prinney" and Caroline had formally separated. And in 1820, the year

of the Cato Street Conspiracy, allegations were made concerning her personal conduct. Not even his most sanguine admirer could extol George's marital fidelity, though he possessed better qualities in some other respects than are always allowed to his memory. He had, for example, an authentic interest in the arts, and if his Coronation achieved theatricality, it certainly showed an appreciation of what Coronations should be.

At that Coronation, on July 19, 1821, one important figure was lacking. Caroline, the Queen - Consort, was absent. In the previous year a "Bill of Pains and Penalties" against her had been presented to the House of Lords. At the trial, the Queen was defended by Mr. (afterwards the famous Lord) Brougham, and the Bill was abandoned.

The case caused considerable feeling on both sides, which was further provoked when it was learnt that, by the Privy Council's decision, the Queen was not to participate in the Coronation.

On the day itself, July 19, 1821, matters came to a head. Caroline then made an attempt to assert her position as Consort, which has passed into history. What happened had better be told in the words of a nearly contemporary account. If,



National Portrait Gallery, London.
Caroline of Brunswick, whose frustrated attempt to attend the inauguration of her husband, King George IV, forms a poignant chapter in the history of Coronations.

(From the painting by James Lonsdale.)

Coronation Cavalcade

to our eyes, scanty of paragraphs, the following sympathetic narration, culled from "Giles Gossip, Esq., " opens a window upon the event. Says he:

"On the day of the coronation a considerable crowd assembled about her Majesty's house [No. 77] in South Audley Street soon after four o'clock. As soon as it was ascertained that her Majesty's coach was making ready in the yard, the crowd, both in South Audley Street and in Hill Street, became very great. The wall opposite to her Majesty's house in Hill Street was soon covered with spectators, who announced to the crowd below each successive step of preparation. 'The horses are to'; 'everything is quite ready'; 'the Queen has entered the coach,'—were the gradual communications, and they were received with the loudest cheers. Lady Anne Hamilton arrived a few minutes before five, and was most cordially and respectfully greeted. Soon after five the gate was thrown open, and a shout was raised—'The Queen! The Queen!' The queen immediately appeared in her coach of state, drawn by six bays. Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton sat opposite to her Majesty. Lord Hood followed in his own carriage. Her Majesty looked extraordinarily well; and acknowledged, with great dignity and composure, the gratulations of the people on each side of her coach. The course taken was, through Great Stanhope Street, Park Lane, Hyde-Park Corner, the Green Park, St. James's Park, Birdcage Walk, and by Storey's Gate, along Prince's Street, to Dean's Yard—a way, it must be observed, the least likely to attract notice or to gather crowds. The crowd accumulated immensely along this line; the soldiers everywhere presented arms with the utmost promptitude and respect; and a thousand voices kept up a constant cry of 'The Queen!' 'The Queen for ever!' The *coup d'œil* from the road along the Green Park, was the most striking which can be imagined; the whole space presented one mass of well-dressed males and females hurrying with every

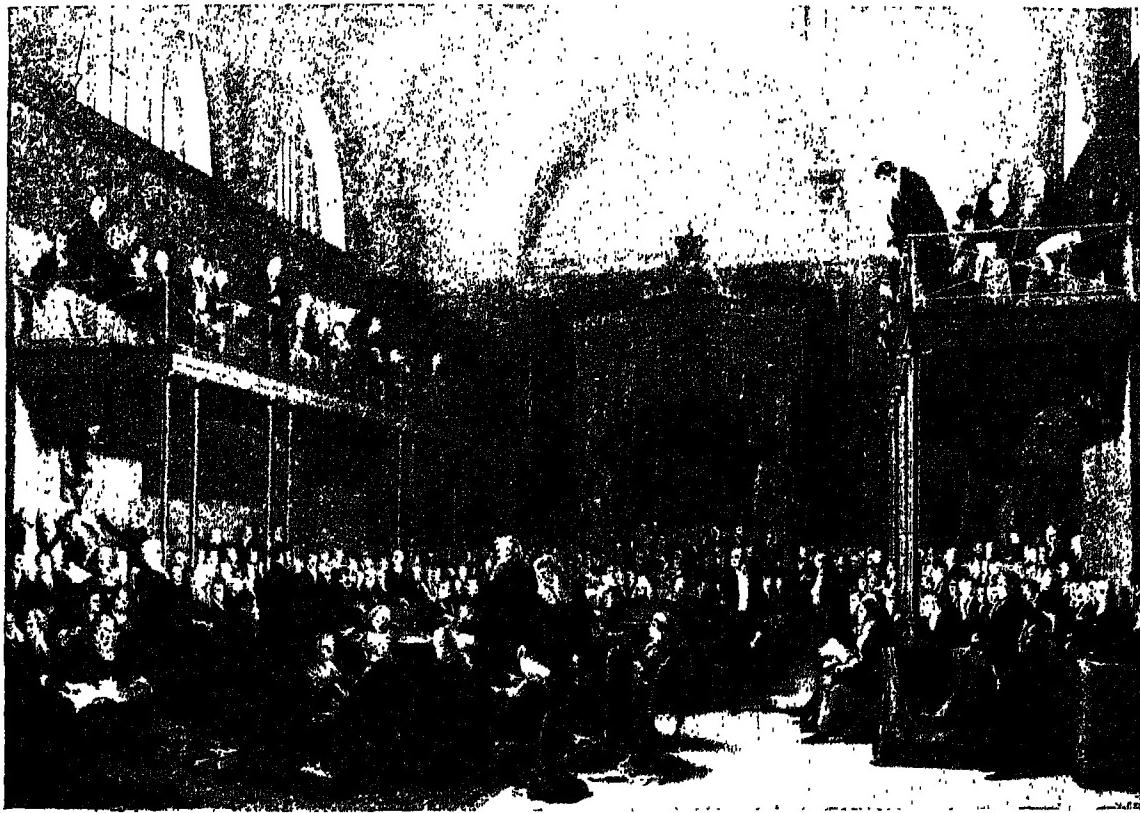
possible rapidity to accompany the Queen, and shouting their attachment and admiration. The two torrents that poured along the south side of the park and the eastern end occasioned the greatest conflux at Storey's Gate. As soon as the Queen's arrival was known in the scene of the King's coronation, shouts of 'The Queen!' at once arose from all the booths, and hats and handkerchiefs were everywhere waved in token of respect. As soon as her Majesty came in sight of the coronation platform and Westminster Abbey, she stopped for a few moments, apparently uncertain what course to take, as she had hitherto met with no obstruction, and yet had received nothing like an invitation to approach. At this moment the feelings of the spectators were wound up to a pitch of the most intense curiosity and most painful anxiety. The persons who immediately surrounded her carriage knew no bounds in expressing their enthusiastic attachment, while many of those in the galleries, apprehensive of the consequences of the experiment which she was making, could not restrain their fears and alarms. In the meantime great confusion seemed to prevail among the officers and soldiers on and near the platform; the former giving orders and retracting them, and the latter running to their arms, uncertain whether they should salute her by presenting them or not. Astonishment, hurry, and doubt, seemed to agitate the whole multitude assembled either to witness or compose the ensuing pageant. She alighted from her carriage and proceeded on foot, leaning on the arm of Lord Hood, and accompanied by the faithful companions of her affliction, Lady Hood and Lady Anne Hamilton, to demand admission. The approach of the Queen towards the hall-door produced a considerable sensation within: * there was an immediate rush to the door, which was closed amidst much confusion. The officer on guard (we believe Colonel M'Kinnon)

* Haydon, who was in Westminster Hall, alludes to this incident. [See Chapter XVIII.]

Banning a Queen!

was immediately summoned to the spot, and asked Her Majesty for her ticket. She replied that she had none, and as Queen of England needed none. He professed his sorrow, but said he must obey orders, and that his orders were to see that no person whatever should be admitted without a ticket. Her Majesty then retired. The

extremity of the platform—that which was opposite to the central pavilion—her further progress was arrested by a file of about a dozen soldiers, who were suddenly ordered to form across the platform. Her Majesty then quitted it, and went straight to the House of Lords on foot, there to repeat the same request, and with the same success.



National Portrait Gallery, London.

Scene in the House of Lords during the discussion of the "Bill of Pains and Penalties" against Caroline of Brunswick in 1820. The Queen, who was defended by Brougham, is seen seated in the centre.

(Detail from the painting by Sir George Hayter.)

party went to the door of the duchy of Lancaster behind the champion's stable, and had the door shut in their faces. They then turned round, and leaving the royal carriage behind, proceeded to demand admission at another entrance. The same intense sensation of interest and the same applause, mixed with partial misapprobation, continued to follow her.

"When she arrived nearly at the other

"In about twenty minutes she returned, and having ordered the top of her carriage to be taken down, rode off, amid the astonishment and acclamations of the people."

Caroline's next attack was on the Abbey itself. At various entrances her attempt was foiled. In his *Annals of Westminster School*, John Sargeant mentions the anecdote that one of these "was kept by a

Coronation Cavalcade

Westminster, the most taciturn officer in the army. . . . The guardsman said no word," but barred the passage with his sword.

There was, however, an argument at one of the doors (apparently at Poets' Corner), for which we may return to "Giles Gossip, Esq.," who borrowed a report of it from the *Courier*.

"LORD HOOD having desired admission for her Majesty, the door-keepers drew across the entrance, and requested to see the tickets.

"LORD HOOD.—I present you your Queen; surely it is not necessary for her to have a ticket.

"Door-keeper.—Our orders are to admit no person without a peer's ticket.

"LORD HOOD.—This is your Queen: she is entitled to admission without such a form.

"The QUEEN, smiling, but still in some agitation.—Yes, I am your Queen, will you admit me?

"Door-keeper.—My orders are specific, and I feel myself bound to obey them.

"The Queen laughed.

"LORD HOOD.—I have a ticket.

"Door-keeper.—Then, my Lord, we will let you pass upon producing it.

"Lord Hood now drew from his pocket a peer's ticket for one person; the original name in whose favour it was drawn was erased, and the name of "Wellington" substituted.

"Door-keeper.—This will let one person pass, but no more.

"LORD HOOD.—Will your Majesty go in alone?

"Her Majesty at first assented, but did not persevere.

"LORD HOOD.—Am I to understand that you refuse her Majesty admission?

"Door-keeper.—We only act in conformity with our orders.

"Her Majesty again laughed.

"LORD HOOD.—Then you refuse the Queen admission?"

"A door-keeper of a superior order then came forward, and was asked by Lord Hood whether any preparations had been made for her Majesty? He was answered respectfully in the negative.

"LORD HOOD.—Will your Majesty enter the Abbey without your ladies?

"Her Majesty declined.

"Lord Hood then said, that her Majesty had better retire to her carriage. It was clear that no provision had been made for her accommodation.

"Her Majesty assented.

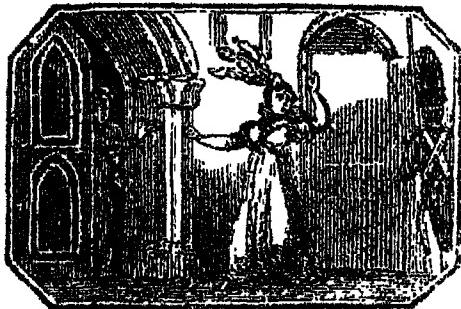
"Some persons within the porch [sic] of the Abbey laughed, and uttered some expressions of disrespect.

"LORD HOOD.—We expected to have met at least with the conduct of gentlemen. Such conduct is neither manly nor mannerly.

"Her Majesty then retired, leaning on Lord Hood's arm, and followed by Lady Hood and Lady Hamilton.

"She was preceded by constables back to the platform, over which she returned,

CUT VIII. *Refusal Admittance into the Abby.*



At length the day came when the heads of the nation,
Assembled to see George the Fourth's Coronation,
When the Queen and her suite to the Abbey repair'd,
For surely in justice she should have been there.
But, how shall I tell it, a foolquier base,
Did there shut the door in her mistress's face?
She said not one word,—tho' her proud heart it bled,
And from that same hour she ne'er held up her head.

British Museum.
Caroline of Brunswick refused admittance to Westminster
Abbey.

(From a Catnach broadsheet of 1821. "An attempt to Exhibit the Leading Events of the Queen's Life in Guts and Verse.")

Banning a Queen!

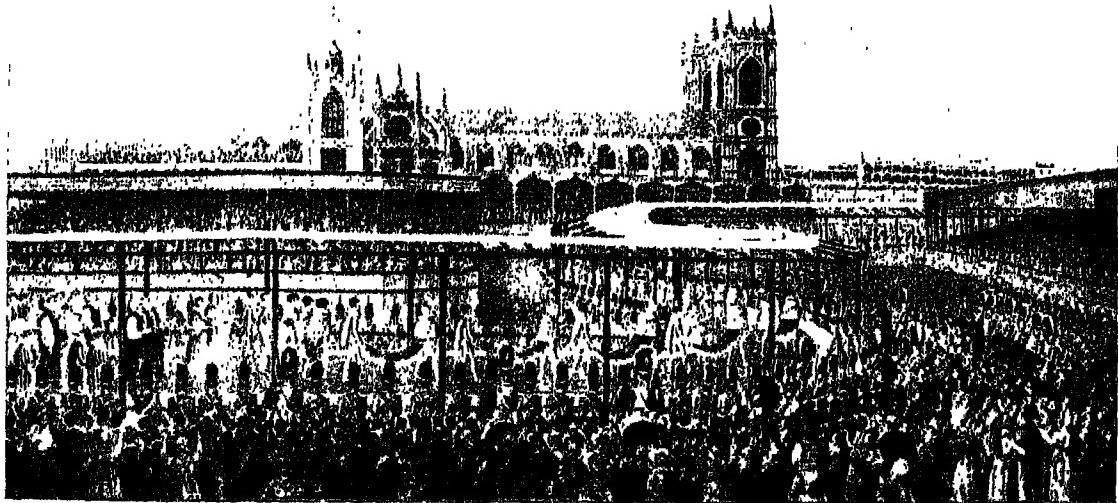
entered her carriage, and was driven off amidst reiterated shouts of mingled applause and disapprobation.'

"Her Majesty returned through Pall Mall, St. James's Street, and Piccadilly, followed all along by a great concourse of people. In St. James's Street, the water had previously created abundance of mud, and this material the crowd bestowed upon some public offices which were prepared for an illumination. During the whole course

Or would it? What other card may the officials have had up their sleeves?

Caroline was not a great heroine, wherefore she was wise in retiring. And it would have been better had she not made this protest in person at all. Anyhow, she soon ceased to fret about it. She retired to Brandenburgh House, Hammersmith, and in less than three weeks she was dead.

So closed an incident unparalleled in the



British Museum.

The Coronation Procession of King George IV from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, showing the covered "platform" traversed by Caroline of Brunswick in her futile efforts to gain admittance to the ceremony.

(Detail from a print after a drawing made on the spot. Published by G. Humphrey, October 22, 1821.)

of her Majesty's progress no accident occurred."

In this pitiable business Hood cuts an interesting figure. Without our going into the *pros* and *cons* of the case, he certainly showed some resource. If one story of him is correct, he might have shown more. For it has been said that on the evening of the 18th a messenger came from Brougham to say that if Hood "wanted any tickets for the coronation, he might have as many as he pleased." But Hood replied: "I have *my own*, and that is quite enough; I need no more." Three more tickets—or even one more—might have made all the difference.

history of the Coronation, and one which, it is to be hoped, may never be repeated.

Allusions to the "platform" in the narrative of Caroline of Brunswick's attempt require explanation. This was the structure on which the Royal Procession passed from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, and back again for the Banquet, after the Coronation.

Says "Gossip": "The railing on each side of it was covered with purple cloth, and the flooring covered to the extent of sixteen feet, leaving about a yard on each side uncovered, with the same sort of blue cloth.

Coronation Cavalcade

"The awnings were drawn, but at short distances red lines were placed, by the pulling of which command was had of them, to close or spread them as circumstances might require. To each line and pulley was allotted one man, with a particular dress, so that the most rapid change of the awnings could be effected, should the weather require any change in their position, while the addition of a staff enabled such man likewise to act as a constable. There were also placed, on each side of the platform, along the whole range of it, men provided with pincers, hammers, &c., to repair any damage that might happen to the platform, or whatever was calculated to impede the progress of the procession, and its attendant ceremonies. These men were also supplied with a like livery, with staves of office; and they were sworn as constables.

"The flooring of the platform was raised several feet (in some instances as much as four and five feet) from the roads, and the

side platform was nearly two feet below the surface of the main platform. . . ."

Owing to the feeling aroused by Caroline's attempt, it was deemed advisable for George to return to the Palace by a different route from that previously arranged. Here, says Lawrence E. Tanner in his *Westminster School: a History*, an Old Westminster proffered his services. This was the 23rd Lord de Ros, then a lieutenant of Life Guards. Employing the intimate knowledge of the locality garnered during his schooldays, he piloted the coach through the back streets and lanes of Westminster, what time the King shouted for the pace to be hastened, and the escort to form up more closely about him.

It was this Lord de Ros who is said to have made a boyish wager to spend a night in the Abbey, and confront Bradshaw's, the regicide's, ghost there. As we saw in Chapter XII, a like story was told of the P. Abbott who slept in the Coronation Chair some years earlier.



CHAPTER XVI

Heralds and Body-guard

Of the numerous participants in a Coronation ceremony, none cuts a more picturesque figure than a herald. In his tabard richly embroidered with the Royal Arms, he forms a direct link with the Middle Ages. For though the cut of his tabard may have varied somewhat since then, and though the Royal Arms themselves have undergone changes, such alterations are part of history.

In mediæval days the office of herald was of high importance. In time of war he acted as his sovereign's direct representative to convey messages and terms to an enemy leader. Interference with a herald in the proper pursuit of his duty was accounted a grave breach of trust. Accredited with something closely akin to ambassadorial privilege, his person was sacred.

Nor were such officers in the service of royalty alone. Any great lord might send out his personal herald, should occasion demand. The principle involved was the same. But these lesser heralds have long since ceased to be used.

In addition to their war-time services, heralds regulated the procedure at tourna-



Heralds past and present. Chester Herald and (right) Somerset Herald at the Coronation of King James II. (Top) Garter King of Arms reading King Edward VIII's Proclamation from the balcony in Friary Court, St. James's Palace. On his right is the Earl Marshal of England, the Duke of Norfolk, and at either end the Sergeants-at-Arms.

ments, officiated at proclamations, Coronations, and royal nuptials and obsequies. In the four latter capacities they are still central figures.

In 1484 King Richard III incorporated his heralds under the name of the College of Arms. From it the present College is

Coronation Cavalcade

directly descended. The site of its house in what is now Queen Victoria Street was granted to the College by Queen Mary I in 1554. The existing building, which replaced that destroyed in the Great Fire of London, dates from about 1677, and is said to have been designed by Morris Emmott. Originally a quadrangle, it was shorn of one of its sides when Queen Victoria Street was created in 1867.

In this dignified home the heralds pursue their time-honoured calling. There they preserve a vast store of heraldic and genealogical records. There they record pedigrees, regulate the use of armorial bearings according to the existing laws of armory, and, among other activities, are much concerned with the marshalling of State ceremonial, with its various problems of detail and precedence.

The official head of the College is the Earl Marshal of England. This important post, never more prominent than when associated with a Coronation, is held by the Duke of Norfolk, and is hereditary in his family.

There are three Kings of Arms: Garter, Clarenceux, and Norroy. Six Heralds: Lancaster, Somerset, Chester, Richmond, Windsor, and York. Four Pursuivants: Rouge Dragon, Rouge Croix, Portcullis, and Bluemantle. The very names smack of the chivalric past.

Anciently the roster was not limited to these. For instance, at various times we find Ireland, March, and Gloucester Kings of Arms; Carlisle, Leicester, and Falcon Heralds; and, among pursuivants, such suggestive titles as Comfort, Rose-Blanch, Calais, Guisnes, Berwick, and *Blanch Sanglier*. Calais, of course, recalls that that town was an English possession from 1347-1558; while the striking name of *Blanch Sanglier* alludes to the white boar badge of King Richard III.* Indeed, every name on the list is linked up with history.

Scotland and Ireland have their own Officers of Arms. For Scotland there is Lyon King of Arms, assisted by Rothesay, Marchmont, and Albany Heralds; and by

Unicorn, Carrick and Falkland Pursuivants. For Ireland there is Ulster King of Arms.

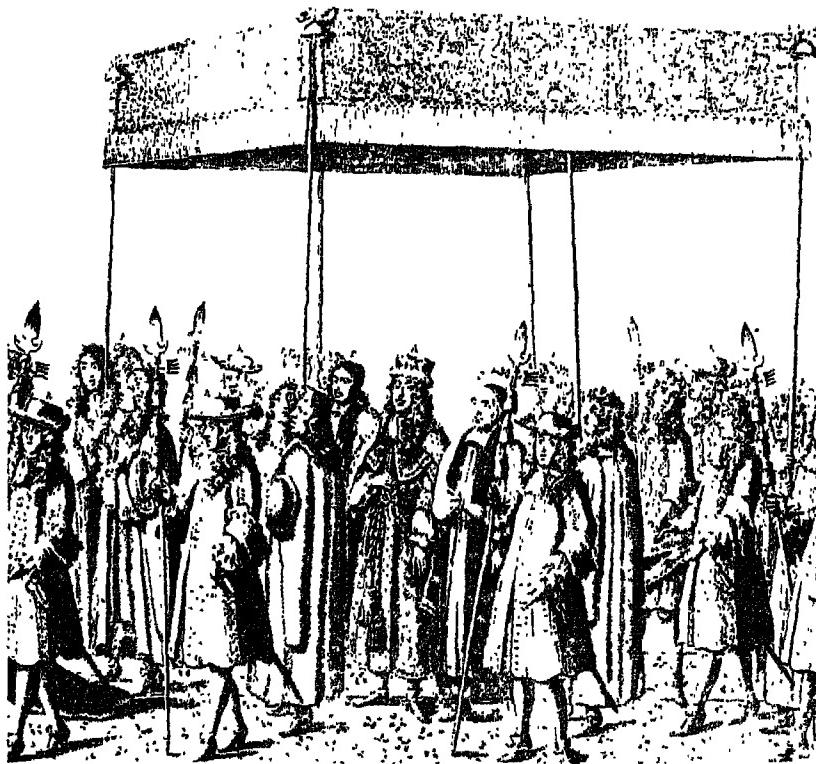
Not to be confused with the heralds are the Sergeants-at-Arms, anciently the Servants-at-Arms or the Serjeants-at-Mace, an ancient body, founded, according to some accounts, by Richard I, in emulation of a French corps. Their original duty was to guard the King's person, and to perform various executive offices about the Court. For this purpose they were fully armed, an ordinary war mace forming a prominent part of their equipment. From this weapon the mace, as we know it, has descended. It may seem difficult to relate such overgrown and glittering "baubles" as the Mace of the House of Commons to a club used in battle; but such is the fact. These later ceremonial "pokers" are actually reversed, what was originally the knop on the base of the shaft having swollen into a great wen, ensigned with a Crown. Early maces, and especially those made for practical purposes, were usually very much smaller in size. Some ceremonial maces, however, were already tending to become elaborate in the 14th century.

Many cities and boroughs possess one or more maces, just as some have their own State Swords. The mace-bearers are, or become in effect, sergeants-at-mace by virtue of their office, but must not be confused with the officers of the Royal Household. There were at first twenty-four of these, but the number has varied considerably at different periods.

At state ceremonials much interest centres in the tall and dignified figures of the Gentlemen-at-Arms. This old and distinguished corps was formed by Henry VIII in 1509 as the Gentlemen Spears. In 1539 it was reorganized as the Gentlemen Pensioners, receiving its present title in 1834, when it became The King's Body-guard of the Honourable Corps of Gentlemen-at-Arms. Its existing military organization

* "A silver boar, tusked and bristled gold." A. C. Fox-Davies (*Armorial Badges*, 1907) citing Harl. 4632.

Heralds and Body-guard



dates from 1862, and it is now essentially a corps recruited from officers of high rank and position. If not quite the oldest military body in England—that dignity belonging to the Yeomen of the Guard—it is certainly the most exclusive. Looking at the average Gentleman-at-Arms to-day one can but be struck by his bearing; which is as it should be. In Elizabeth's time the Pensioners were reckoned the tallest and handsomest men in England. The brilliant Sir Christopher Hatton began his rise to high place in their ranks. Since those days the average age in the corps has increased.

When dealing with a body in which so many distinguished men have served, I must crave excuse for making a personal digression, on the score that two generations of my maternal forebears were Gentlemen Pensioners. These were Sir John Burton, of Wakefield, who was knighted at Windsor in 1805, and his son Richard, who, by the

way, must not be confused with his namesake, the explorer, and visitant of Mecca. So far as I know, the two Sir Richard Burtons were in nowise related.

My Sir Richard (if the expression be permissible) was present at the Coronations of

Gentlemen Pensioners
In attendance on King
James II at his Coronation
in 1685. (From
Sandford's "History of
the Coronation of
James II," 1687.) (Right)
Present day uniform of
the corps—known
since 1834 as the Hon-
ourable Corps of
Gentlemen-at-Arms—
showing the pole-axe
which is still carried.



both George IV and William IV, being knighted on the latter occasion, when he officiated as Silver Stick. He lived at Sacketts Hill House, St. Peter's-in-Thanet, where he had entertained George IV. According to a family tradition, this act of hospitality cost Burton £3,000; but the

Coronation Cavalcade

expense was offset by an act of royal urbanity. George, who had a "way with him" when he so pleased, is said to have remarked to Burton: "I, as the First Gentleman in Europe, come to you as the first gentleman in Thanet." Or words to that effect.

Some years ago, when browsing in a secondhand bookshop, I came upon a volume from Sir Richard Burton's library. There could be no doubt about it; his armorial *ex libris* was pasted in the cover.



Yeomen of the Guard at King James II's Coronation in 1685, about which time their dress assumed its present form.

(From Sandford's "History of the Coronation of James II," 1687.)

But this was the curious point. The book was a copy of a scurrilous work called *The Authentic Records of the Court of England for the Last Seventy Years*, published by J. Phillips, 334, Strand, in 1832. It consisted of a number of slanderous assertions charging various members of the Royal Family with having either instigated or been privy to almost every crime on the calendar, not saving bigamy and murder.

This scandalous and detestable volume is assigned to Lady Anne Hamilton. That it must have been *anathema* in Court circles goes without saying. Yet there was a copy of it in Sir Richard Burton's library; and

Sir Richard was at William IV's Coronation in 1831—the year previous to that when the *Authentic [sic] Records* appeared. Any suggestion of subversive opinion on Burton's part can be dismissed from the start. It is unimportant, but my own idea is that he kept this book partly as a curiosity, and partly for its allusions to Caroline of Brunswick's attempt to participate in King George IV's Coronation, when Burton himself was also on duty.

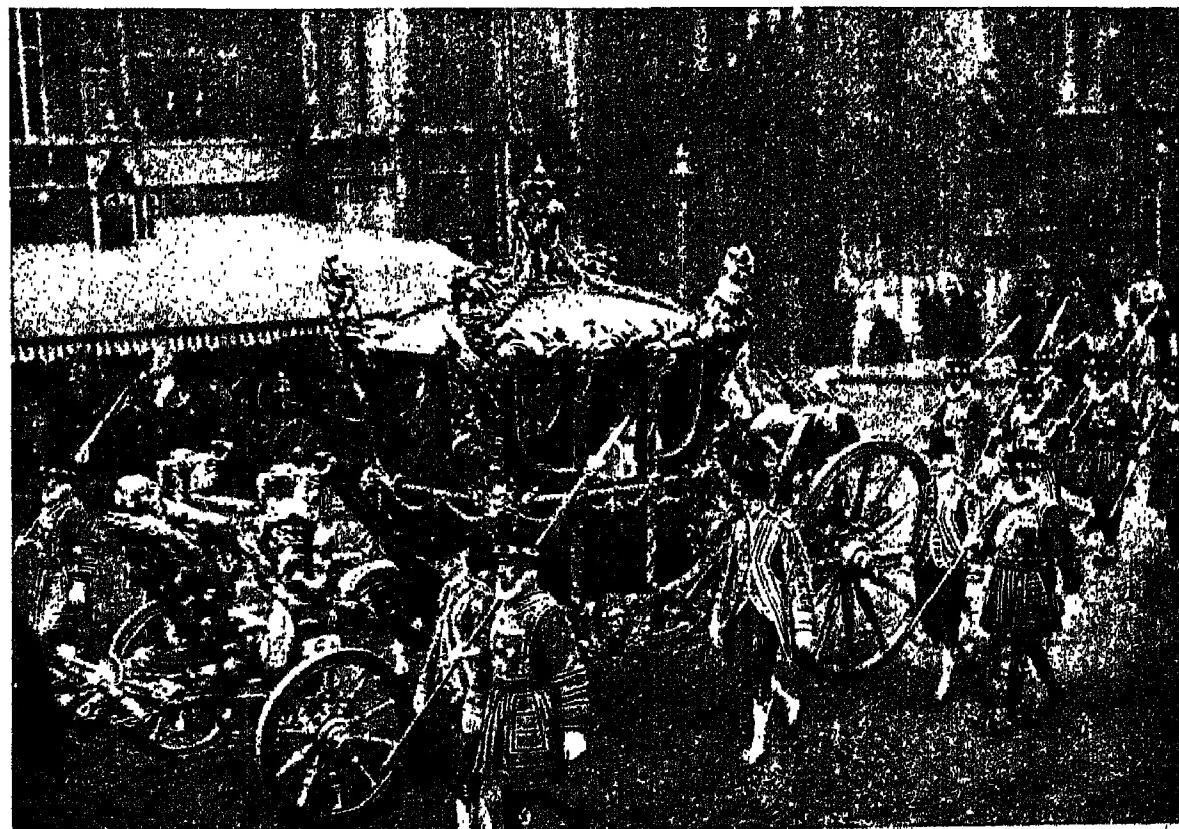
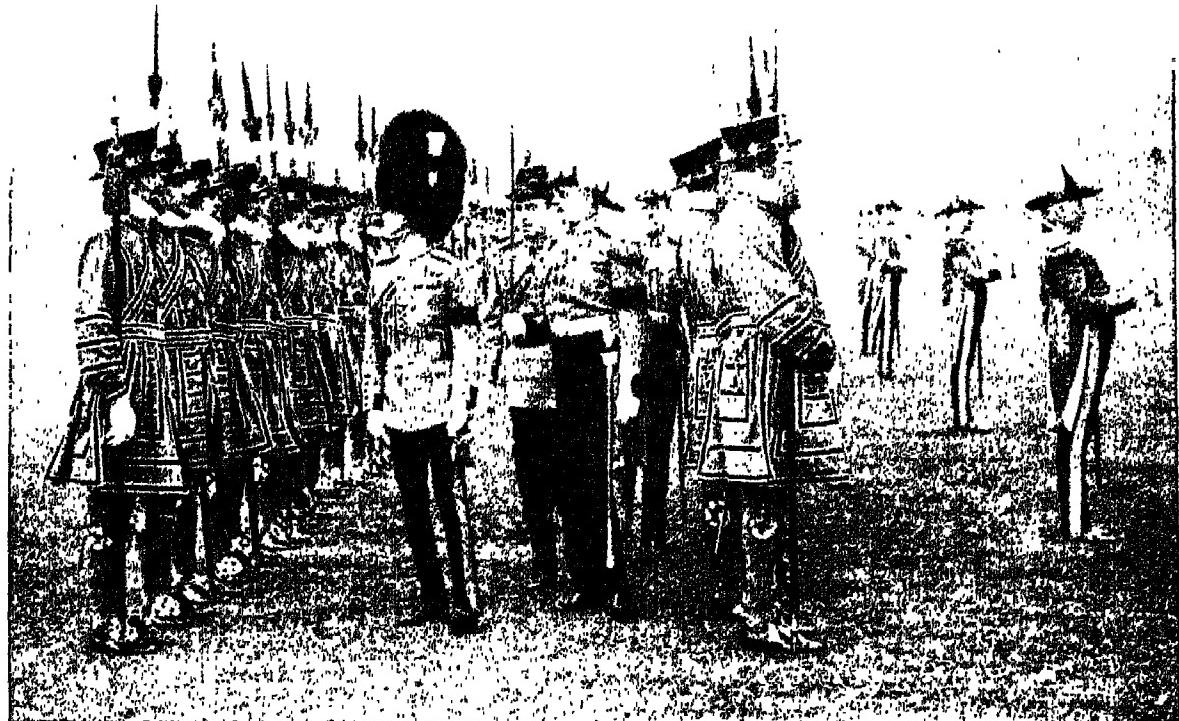
A now obsolete office of his corps was to act as servers at the Banquet in Westminster Hall. At George IV's they wore a dress which was fondly supposed to be in the fashion of Henry VIII's reign; but for William IV's "Half-Crownation" were habited in the full-dress uniform of the Guards, with cocked hat and feathers.

Saving the pole-axe, still carried by the Gentlemen-at-Arms when on duty, their present full dress and appointments are of 19th-century origin. The strapped trousers, coatee, and plumed helmet of to-day are dignified enough, but

are of no ancient mode. Reference to the appropriate plates in Sandford's *Coronation of... James II* shows how greatly their dress has altered since 1685. They then wore scarlet cloth coats, richly laced with gold, and black hats with white feathers round them, though carrying their "Gilt Axes in their Hands."

Also of 19th-century origin are the coatee uniforms and kit of officers of the Yeomen of the Guard. On the other hand, the characteristic "Beefeater" dress of the Yeomen themselves is a genuine relic of antiquity.

Founded by Henry VII in 1485, after the



The present uniform of the Yeomen of the Guard is mainly of late 17th-century fashion: the ruffs and officers' dress were adopted in the 19th century. Yeomen are here seen escorting the State Coach at the Opening of Parliament and (top) being reviewed by King Edward VIII at Buckingham Palace in June, 1936.

Coronation Cavalcade

Battle of Bosworth, the King's Body-guard of the Yeomen of the Guard (to give the full present title) was on duty at his Coronation. Partly from the fact of its Tudor origin, a persistent legend has arisen that its picturesque dress dates from that epoch. Over and over again in the Press, and even in books of a nominally serious nature, allusions crop up to the corps' "Tudor" costume and to the "halberds" carried by its members.

Both statements are wholly inaccurate. As now borne, the staff weapons are not halberds, but partizans—an arm of dissimilar fashion. And so far from being "Tudor," the dress did not arrive at approximately its present composition and cut before James II's Coronation, or a little earlier.

Here is Sandford's description of the Yeomen of the Guard in James II's procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey. With slight alterations it might serve to describe the dress of the Yeomen of to-day:

"The YEOMEN of His MAJESTIES GUARD of His *Body*, being in Number One Hundred, Marched Four a-breast, with *Partizans* on their Shoulders (for none of them carried *Carabines* that Day:) Their *Coats* of Red Broad Cloth, with large Sleeves gathered at the Shoulders and Wrists, full deep Skirts, also gathered at the Waste, with large *Breeches* of the same, were guarded thick with Black Velvet, an Inch in breadth. Upon their Breasts and Backs was Imbroidered, Embossed and Inriched with Silver Plate Gilt, the *Rose* and *Crown* with his *Majesties Cipher*, and underneath on a *Scroll* of Gold, the *Kings Motto*, DIEU ET MON DROIT, in Black Letters.

"Their *Bonnets* were of Black Velvet,

banded with White, Crimson and Blew Ribbon interwoven, with large Knots of the same; with Grey Worsted *Stockings*, and *Waste Belts* of Buff."

After the Union (1800) the Shamrock of Ireland was added to the Badge. But despite minor details, such as the change of the stockings from grey to red, the identity of the dress with that now obtaining is obvious. Those curious in matters of historical costume will recognize that its fashion clearly belongs to the latter part of the 17th century. What has doubtless misled many observers is the ruff which, as worn with the dress, conveys a superficially "Elizabethan" effect.

But (as Beard shows) the ruff is not known to have been used by Yeomen of the Guard after about 1630, and was not worn with the present dress at all—until introduced for the Coronation of George IV in 1821.* That event was marked by much romantic "mediaevalism." Wherefore it follows that the Yeomen's ruff is not "Tudor" at all, but good Hanoverian.

The present uniform was intended to be worn with a lace cravat, and it is remarkable what a difference the substitution of the ruff makes to its general effect.

This has been heightened by the regulation beard, generally approximating to an Elizabethan—or thereabouts—type. The order for the Yeomen to be bearded came into force with the accession of King Edward VII, who, of course, was himself bearded. After reviewing the corps in June, 1936, King Edward VIII gave permission for beards to be removed, so that this facial adornment is no longer a *sine qua non*.

**The Clothing and the Arming of the Yeomen of the Guard.*

CHAPTER XVII

Court of Claims

IT goes without saying that service to a King at so important a moment as his Coronation is jealously prized. To an average spectator, the honour involved is sufficient explanation of this. But, though the honour is certainly there, other reasons exist—or existed—for claims and counterclaims to service to be readily advanced.

Some of these involved matters of obligation; others were of considerable advantage to the fortunate holders; and so forth. It was to deal with such problems officially that the Court of Claims was set up.

Prior to Richard II's Coronation (1377), John of Gaunt, as High Steward of England, held a court "in the White-hall of the King's Palace at Westminster." From this solemn event arose the Court of Claims as we know it to-day. The system is now in Commission, but John of Gaunt appears then to have sat as sole judiciary. By him were decided most of the claims and the fees and allowances which they were held to involve.

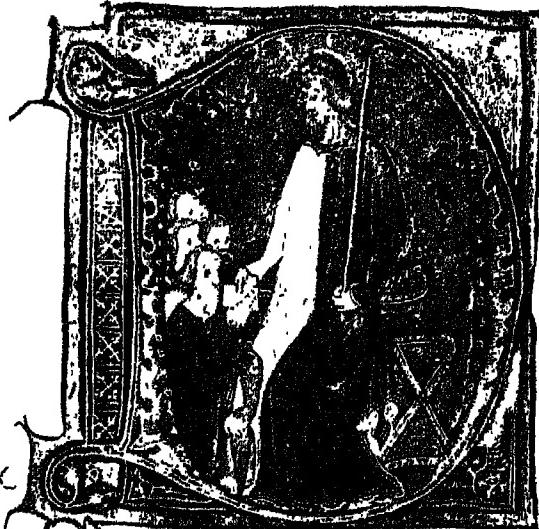
The claims to service which a Court of Claims has to consider are of more than one kind. Some devolve by hereditary right, some are allied to a title, some, again, arise from the tenure of property. These last

involve the ancient principle of what is known as Serjeanty.

Now Serjeanty is a formidable term to the layman, but actually it is simple enough. It arose from a primitive custom whereby the conveyance of lands was attended by some outward reminder of the terms and conditions. In days when legal conveyancing was unknown, the "document" might very well consist of a knife, a cup, or some other form of *memoria technica*, which, as it were, would go with the property. It was the token or pledge which sealed the agreement, and even when legal conveyancing was fully established, the mass of the people were so illiterate that the written word would mean nothing to them.

Thus, the custom of ratifying a conveyance by the delivery of some object, which could be seen and appreciated by anyone concerned, persisted well into the Middle Ages. Sometimes the performance of a periodical ceremony was linked with such objects; or, maybe, a ceremony itself would suffice.

Some such services were dignified, others very much the reverse. For instance, part of the manor of Archer's Court, near Dover, was anciently held "by the service of holding the King's head, between Dover and Whit-



John of Gaunt presiding at the first Court of Claims before the Coronation of King Richard II in 1377
(from a miniature in Cotton MS Nero D. VI. British Museum)

Coronation Cavalcade

sand, when he should happen to pass the sea between those parts," and should find the motion too much for his stomach.

Or, to cite the case of a Suffolk manor, the unfortunate lord had to make his appearance on specified occasions, leap in the air and give vent to a variety of highly indecorous noises. Such service as this reflects very clearly the humorous tastes of our mediæval fathers.

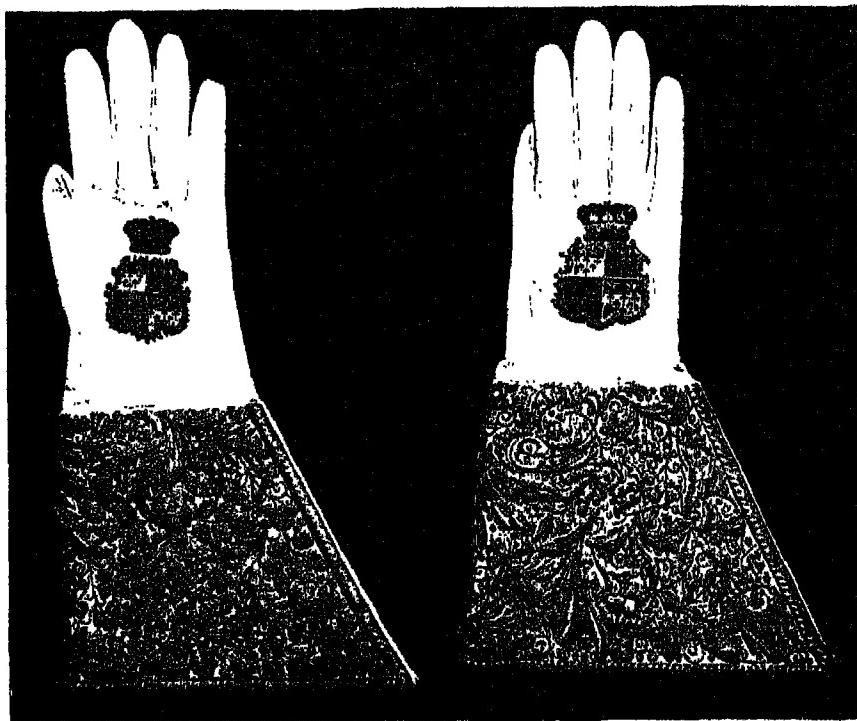
Perhaps I have given the impression that

plot for a playground on such terms, and the first year's rent of a red rose had been duly paid and accepted. It would be idle to suggest that the principle of Serjeanty is extinct.

Serjeanty was of two kinds: *Grand Serjeanty*, involving an actual attendance on the King's person; and *Petty Serjeanty*, when the mere presentation of some object was concerned.

Highly important Grand Serjeanties associated with Coronations were the services of the King's Champion and that called the "Glove and Sceptre."

As will be read in Chapter XIX, the Championship was dependent on the tenure of the manor of Scrivelsby. The "Glove and Sceptre" pertains to the Manor of Worksop, or, more accurately, to the Worksop Priory Lands. It consists in the lord of the manor finding a rich right-hand glove for the King and supporting the King's right arm while he holds the sceptre at the Coronation. There is some doubt as to whether this quite corresponds



London Museum.

Gloves presented in "Glove and Sceptre" Serjeanty to King Edward VII and King George V by the Duke of Newcastle, as Lord of the Manor of Worksop. They are of white kid and bear the Duke's arms on the backs: the gauntlets are heavily embroidered in gold braid.

Serjeanty is an obsolete business. But apart from certain Coronation Claims, everyone knows of the tenures of Blenheim and Strathfieldsaye, held by delivery of silken banners to the Monarch. And while this book was being written, I read in the Press that what amounts to the ancient serjeanty of tenure by delivery of a rose had been performed—in America. According to the *News of the World* of July 5, 1936, a landowner in Pitman, New Jersey, leased a

with the earliest form of the service, but it is near enough for our purpose.

The respective gloves presented to King Edward VII and King George V by the then Duke of Newcastle, as Lord of the Manor of Worksop, are now in the London Museum. They are of white kid, "the gauntlet stiffened and heavily embroidered in gold braid, and decorated on the back with the arms of the Duke of Newcastle." (*Catalogue.*)

Court of Claims

Such gloves were not always white; that presented to Richard II was red, as were often the regal vestments in mediæval times.

Among Coronation services there were a number closely akin to Serjeanty, but which so acute a critic as the late Dr. Horace Round declared were not actually such. Without going into such fine points as this, let us glance at some of the more noteworthy posts, whether held by Serjeanty, appointment, or what not.

An interesting case is that of Nether Bilsington, Kent, held by the presentation, at the Monarch's Coronation, of three maple cups, which went, as part of his fee, to the Mayor of Oxford for service in under-botelry. With this may be contrasted the Lordship of the Isle of Man (sold to the Crown in 1765), for which the Earls of Derby and, later, the Duke of Atholl presented two falcons.

A much-quoted service is that of the manor of Bardolf in Addington, Surrey, held by service of its lord's presenting a mess of *dillegrout*, or white pottage, prepared by the King's Master Cook. This may have come about through the manor belonging to Tezelin, the King's Cook in William I's time. Considering the variety of dishes available at the Banquet, it is not surprising that, while accepting the service, Charles II did not partake of the mess. He had known enough of strange food, or its lack, in his exile. Thomas Leigh presented the *dillegrout* on that occasion, and John Leigh at James II's banquet, when he was knighted. At a later date, the manor was held by the Archbishops of Canterbury. The service appertaining to it is more correctly known as the *Maupyernoun* Serjeanty. (See Round: *The King's Servants*.)

The office of Larderer or Lardiner was variously claimed in right of the manors of Scoulton (Norfolk), Ower Moigne (Dorset), Shipton Moyne (Gloucestershire), Maddington (Wiltshire), and Easton (Essex). But the service seems to have been confused with that of Caterer. The fees claimed

were the remainder of the meats, lard, fish and salt.

Among other posts were those of Sewer, anciently served by the Lords FitzWalter, who brought up and arranged the dishes on the royal table at the Banquet; Grand Carver, associated with the Earldom of Lincoln before that title became merged in the Crown at the accession of Henry IV; and the Grand Panneter, held with the manor of Kibworth Beauchamp (Leicestershire). His duty was to "beare the salte and the kerving knives from the pantrie to the kinges dyning table," and, possibly, also to see to the bread. For fee, he had the not inconsiderable reward of the salt-cellars, knives and spoons laid before the King at the Banquet.

The Napier had charge of the table linen, as his title suggests. Readers called Napier can search for some such official in their early ancestry; though not necessarily for one as exalted as this. Stories as to a forebear having had "na peer" in some particular glory, represent a pun on the name made after its origin. The Napier at the Banquet was lord of the manor of Ashill or Ashley, in Norfolk. He had the napery concerned for his fee.

The manor of Much Wymondley, Hertfordshire, carried the service of bringing to the King the first cup of silver-gilt in which he drank at the Banquet. The cup was kept by the bearer as fee.

This service was once performed by the Argentines, whose red shield with *three silver cups* reflected their claim. After various changes the property was sold to the Wilsheres, one of whom performed the service at George IV's Banquet, since when it has lapsed. So recently as 1934, however, the matter came under notice, when it was implied in the Press that the current Squire of Much Wymondley was unlikely to claim the right of presenting the cup. This, of course, was a mistaken conception of the position, and, speaking from recollection, I fancy that the Squire very properly disclaimed responsibility for it. The Wymondley

Coronation Cavalcade

service was a concomitant of the Banquet; were the latter revived, the Sovereign would have every right to demand the performance of such services associated with it as might suit the royal pleasure.

A moiety of the manor of Heydon, Essex, was held by its lord carrying the towel on which the King dried his hands at the banquet.

Another Essex manor, that of Fingreth, supplied the Queen's Chamberlain. But the claim of Robert Corey, D.D., and Mary his wife, was disallowed at James II's and Queen Anne's Coronations. The Coreys' claim was to be Chamberlain to the Queen, to keep the Queen's chamber and door on the day of her Coronation, and to have certain fees. These were to take the Queen's bed and furniture, and the basins and other matters belonging to the Queen's Chamberlain, and to have a Clerk in the Exchequer to demand and receive the Queen's gold, etc.

Casually reading the fees claimed (which were often curtailed, if allowed), one might form the opinion that a deal of tapacity was abroad. That, however, was not the case. Many of these officers were put to considerable expense. For those who lived elsewhere, there were the charges for travel to London, of suitable clothing, vails and various incidentals, including, maybe, the cost of a retinue. This was made up to them in kind, sometimes compounded for a monetary fee. The gift of a gold or silver-gilt cup, or of things which, if more homely, had their market value, may even have left the recipient out of pocket. When the noted colonel-general, Marmaduke, Lord Langdale, was summoned to attend Charles II's Coronation, he begged, says F. H. Sutherland, to be excused as being "too poor to bear the journie [from Holme-on-Spalding-Moor, in Yorkshire], and can neither borrow money, nor sell land to obtain it." Such points should be borne in mind, when we meet fees in passing.

For instance, the service of the manor of Liston in Essex was to make and serve wafers to the King at the Banquet. Here

again the fee claimed was in kind. At James II's Coronation, it was compounded, but the claim had been to have all the instruments of silver and other metal used in the process, with the linen, a certain proportion of the ingredients and other necessities, and liveries for the lord of the manor and two men. In the claim submitted in the time of Henry V, as quoted by Wickham Legg and others, the three vestures are mentioned, and the ingredients included a pipe of flour, 30 sugar loaves, 20 lbs. of almonds, 2 lbs. of ginger, $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. of saffron, a pipe of Osey, and 3 "*galons doyle*."

Much more important is the office of Grand Almoner, who distributed the royal *largesse* at the Coronation in the form of either money or specially struck medals. His fee has been claimed as the silver alms dish, the linen towel used to cover it, the distribution of the floor cloth on which the King and Queen walked, and a tun of wine into the bargain. In practice, the cup and the floor cloth represented the approximate total. This high office was attached to the Barony of Bedford, and as this became split up among various holders, it follows that there were sometimes a number of claimants. In such cases the monarch has been the arbiter, at any rate technically.

The Chief Butlership was anciently held by tenure of the manors of Buckenham, Kenninghall, Wymondham, and Snettisham in Norfolk. These became split up between the descendants of one of the Earls of Arundel, but the service eventually came to the Dukes of Norfolk. At James II's Court of Claims it was spoken of simply as the service of the manor of Kenninghall, and the claim for fees was impressive. It consisted of the best gold cup and cover, with all the vessels and wine remaining under the bar, and all the pots and cups save those of gold or silver which should be in the wine cellar after the Banquet. This was toned down to a cup and cover alone.

Among those claiming to assist the Chief Butler were the Lord Mayor and certain citizens of London, and the Mayor and



Courts of Claims of the 19th and 20th centuries. The Court for King George IV's Coronation held in the Painted Chamber of the Palace of Westminster, 1821; and (top) that for King George V's Coronation which sat at the Council Office, Whitehall, 1911—the then Duke of Norfolk is seen seated in the centre.

(Bottom: After the water-colour by James Stephanoff.)

Coronation Cavalcade

burgesses of Oxford. The Lord Mayor presented—and kept—a gold cup of wine; the Mayor of Oxford a gilt cup of wine, which was also retained. There are frequent allusions to the Lord Mayor of London carrying the mace in Coronation processions. One such is in the stage directions, relative to Anne Bullen's Coronation, in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII*.

Of particular interest was the service of the Cinque Ports in Sussex and Kent, whose former duty it was to find vessels for the navy. Consisting originally of Hastings, Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich, the Cinque (or five) Ports had Rye and Winchelsea added to them, but without change to their corporate title. Among the privileges came that of furnishing 32 "barons" for Coronations, divided (on suitable occasions) into 16 to bear the canopy over the King, and 16, that of the Queen. They were all dressed alike in crimson satin. By way of fee, the canopy or canopies were divided between the "barons." As the canopies were of gold or purple silk, supported by staves covered with silver, and with silver gilt bells at the corners, it follows that the fee was not meaningless. Sometimes the silver stripped from the poles would be fashioned into souvenirs, such as a tankard.

This service, performed for the last time in 1821, must not be confused with the bearing of the canopy, by four Knights of the Garter, over the King during unction.

From mediæval times the Bishops of Durham and Bath [and Wells] have claimed to support the King at his Coronation; while the Abbot and convent of Westminster, and their successors, the Dean and Chapter, claimed to have charge of the regalia, to take part in the divine service and to instruct the King in the Ceremonies. They claimed to have the oblations made during the service, and, among other things, the Royal habits put off in the Church, and various important items of the furniture used.

While the Coronation of a Queen-Consort is performed by the Archbishop of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury's claim to

crown the King has already been touched upon. His comparatively modest fee is the chair of purple velvet, with its cushion and footstool, used by him at the Coronation. It is at any rate possible (as Beard was the first to suggest in *The Connoisseur* [1928]) that the fine "Moreton-in-the-Marsh" Chair, cushion and footstool, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, formed Archbishop Juxon's perquisite from Charles II's Coronation. The legend that they were used at the Martyr King's trial in Westminster Hall has been abandoned, after fierce antiquarian skirmishing. I was Assistant Editor of *The Connoisseur* at the time of the controversy and saw a good deal of it from the inside.

Of strictly hereditary offices, there were at one time the Lord High Steward, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Constable, the Earl Marshal, and the Bearer of the Great Spurs. The Earl Marshalship is held by the Duke of Norfolk, whose ancestor, the 1st (Howard) Duke, was so created in 1483. This was that same supporter of Richard Crookback, who fell at Bosworth field after having received the oft-quoted warning:

"Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold."

Before "Jockey's" time the Marshalship had been with his maternal ancestors, the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk, the first of whom was created Earl Marshal under Richard II, in right of his descent from Edward I's son, Thomas of Brotherton.

During such times as their recusancy rendered the Howard Dukes of Norfolk legally incapable of executing the office of Earl Marshal, it was performed by an appointed Deputy. In 1824, however, the Dukes were restored to the full exercise of the Marshalship.

Inseparably associated with the ordering of Coronations, the Earl Marshal once claimed to carry the Crown, and to assist in placing and supporting it on the King's head.

Court of Claims

As for the Lord Great Chamberlainship, this was allowed, by Charles I, to Robert Bertie, 1st Earl of Lindsey, whose maternal ancestors, the Veres, Earls of Oxford, had held the same office. The right is now jointly vested in the Marquess of Cholmondeley, the Earl of Ancaster, and the representatives of the Marquess of Lincolnshire. At King George V's Coronation the late Marquess of Lincolnshire was Lord Great Chamberlain. It may be remembered that the name of his paternal forebears was originally Smith.

The Lord Great Chamberlain's privilege was to bring the King's shirt and clothes to the monarch on the Coronation morn, and, with certain assistance, to dress him. He also officiated in various important details of the Coronation itself, such as putting on the Spurs and the Sword.

He claimed as his fee: 40 yards of crimson velvet for a robe, the King's bed, bedding and furniture of the room wherein the monarch had slept, with the royal wearing apparel and night-gown. He claimed also to serve the King with water before and after the Banquet, and to keep the basons, towels, and also a cup of assay. At James II's Coronation the last item was not allowed, and the 3rd Earl of Lindsey compounded his other fees for £200, excepting the cloth, which he duly received.

Both the Lord High Stewardship and the Lord High Constable's office have long since ceased to be hereditary. The bearing of the

Spurs is associated with the family of the Lords Grey de Ruthyn, though it has been counterclaimed by others, on sundry occasions, in right of their various descents from the Hastings's, and, ultimately, from



Lord Hill bearing the Standard of St. George at the Coronation of King George IV—his page, Lord William Pitt Lennox, is in attendance.

(By H. Meyer after P. Stephanoff)

the Marshals, one of whom—John*—carried the Spurs in 1189. His name was

*Not his next brother, William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, as is frequently stated. (Round: *The King's Servants*.)

Coronation Cavalcade

that of his post as Marshal of England. Among the holders of the Constablership none is more memorable than the great Duke of Wellington, who served it at no less than three Coronations—George IV's, William IV's, and Queen Victoria's.

The Constable attends the Royal person in the procession, assists at the delivery of the Regalia by the Chapter of Westminster, and, in former days, conducted the Champion to the service of the Challenge.

Considerable importance has attached to claims for bearing the Swords, and the Standards of England, Scotland, and Ireland, etc. At King George V's Coronation the Spiritual and Temporal Swords were respectively borne by Lord Roberts and Kitchener, to whom they had been appointed. But I have touched on the Swords in an earlier chapter, and shall later allude to the interesting point that, of late reigns, the bearing of the Standard of England has been allowed to the Dymokes, doubtless as a compensatory service in place of their obsolete challenge as Champions. Besides the Standards of the three Realms, there are also the Royal, Union, and Dominions Standards, to bear any of which is a high honour.

In connection with the Standards, and as illustrating the nature of some of the claims that have come before the Court, it may be of service to cite that advanced by a namesake, though—so far as I know—no relative of mine. This individual asserted, and, I believe, proved, his descent from the old Lords de Morley of the creation of 1299. About 1686 this title fell into abeyance; and approximately two centuries later Mr. J. T. Roe decided to advance his claim to it by assuming the barony.

Thus, at the Court of Claims for Edward VII's Coronation we find Mr. Roe "calling himself Lord de Morley, Baron of Rye, and Hereditary Marshal of Ireland," claiming the

Marshalship and to bear the Standard of England.

To quote Sir Gerald Wollaston's *Coronation Claims*: "The Court held that as the claim depended on the determination of the question who, if anyone, was entitled to the Barony of de Morley, that question must first be decided by the proper tribunal before the claim could be entertained by the Court."

To put the case differently, it is one thing to prove your descent from a given person, but another to prove the non-existence of any other possible co-heirs to a peerage. Mr. Roe, who had taken the additional name of de Morley, died in 1919.

This brief account makes no pretence at completeness. Sundry important offices, and numerous claims, recognized or otherwise, at various times, are left to take care of themselves. I have aimed at no more than attempting to indicate some of the claims and appointments, and to give an impression of their natures. Since the abandonment of the Banquet many of the quainter services have lapsed. Without prejudice to the future performance of such, Queen Victoria dispensed with them for her Coronation, and King Edward VII discouraged the advancement of claims which had not been considered for his Royal Mother's crowning. A similar procedure has since been maintained, and for King George VI's Coronation, claims admitted for King George V's have been taken as a basis.

In the interests of simplifying so complex a ceremony as the Coronation, sacrifices were doubtless inevitable; but that some of the colour of life has disappeared with the suspension of services cannot be denied. All the same it is a testimony to the surviving historical richness of the Coronation that the lapse of many picturesque trimmings has in no wise dimmed its high lustre.

CHAPTER XVIII

Procession and Banquet

IN the course of centuries many picturesque customs have surrounded the central ceremony of the Coronation. And it must be accounted a loss that some of these have been permitted to lapse.

That the State Procession from the Tower of London to Westminster was discontinued is, perhaps, natural, though, in the Middle Ages, it was more than a glittering spectacle. It was, in essence, part and parcel of the elective ceremony: a public display of the new monarch to his subjects. Among the rubrics of the *Liber Regalis* occurs the following passage, which I quote from Wickham Legg's translation in *English Coronation Records*: "Now the king on the day before his coronation shall ride bare-headed from the Tower of London through the city to his royal palace at Westminster . . . offering himself to be seen by the people who meet him."

There is, also, another aspect, affecting the Tower of London itself. It was customary, after a demise of the Crown, for the Heir Apparent to lodge in the Tower of London. This was eminently practical. Besides being fortress and prison, the Tower was anciently a palace. It was one of the greatest strongholds in the realm. There, if anywhere, the new King was safe, and, moreover, in his capital city, the possession or loss of which has more than once proved a decisive factor in the balance of power and the fate of monarchs.

It was in the Tower, previous to a Coronation, that the creation of Knights of the Bath was anciently held. This particular ceremony, which became inseparably associated

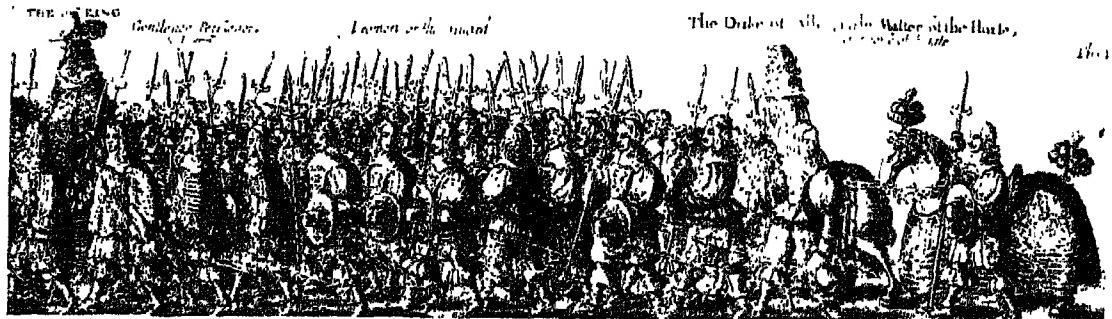
with the idea of a Coronation, is at least as old as the 14th century, and it is customary to derive the Order from 1399, when Henry IV ascended the Throne. It is certainly a fact that Knights of the Bath were created at many coronations, but the chapteral Order, as we know it, dates back to 1725, in which year it was "revived" by King George I.

The title is derived from one of the numerous ceremonies attendant upon the initiation of the knights. At a certain stage of the proceedings the knight-elect was stripped and placed in a bath. He was then interviewed by certain "most gentle and grave knights," who knelt before the receptacle saying: "Sir! Be this bath of great honour to you." They then proceeded to counsel the novice and, before leaving, poured water upon him. It was from this symbolical (and physical) cleansing that the Knight of the Bath was so called; but until George I made it such, he did not belong to an Order in the same sense as did a Knight of the Garter.

The last occasion on which the ceremonial bathing was held was prior to the Coronation of Charles II. And it was this event, also, which witnessed the last procession from the Tower; a procession immortalized by Hollar, and very rich and extensive. Always magnificent and stately occasions, the processions were marked by pageants and shows, and every circumstance of splendour.

Some of these pageants were elaborate symbolical affairs, interspersed with displays of agility. Holinshed records how, during

Coronation Cavalcade



Part of the Coronation Procession of King Charles II from the Tower of London to Whitehall on April 22, 1661. The King is seen escorted by his Gentlemen Pensioners and Yeomen of the Guard, who are followed by the Duke of Albemarle, Master of the Horse, leading a spare charger.

(From an engraving by Hollar in Ogilby's "Entertainment.")

Queen Mary I's procession in 1553, one Peter, a Dutchman, stood on the weather-cock of old St. Paul's steeple. In his hand was a streamer five yards long, and, while waving it, he stood sometimes on one foot and shook the other, and then kneeled down, to the marvel of the crowds beneath. On that dizzy height, far above London, Peter had two scaffolds under him. One, above the cross, had torches and streamers set on it; the other, "on the ball of the crosse, [was] likewise set with streamers and torches, which could not burne, the wind was so great." For "his costes and paines,

and for all his stufte," the City paid Peter £16 13s. od.

Besides such fantasies, the route was bedecked, but not with the tawdry bunting, paltry shields, and "flags-of-all-nations," which too often have lent a smack of the circus to modern events of the kind. The conduits ran wine. Tapestries and carpets were hung out of windows: the best hangings or stuffs that each household possessed.

How pleasant a picture is that which Pepys conjures up: "The streets all gravelled and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows."

Still were many of those houses half-timbered, overhanging and gabled. Not yet had the Great Fire swept across London and flamed her to ruin. For this was the Coronation Procession of King Charles II. The King had come into his own again, and was on his journey to enthronement in the seat of his forefathers.

Let us look again at that happy spectacle through the eyes of old Pepys. The date is April 22, 1661:

"The King's going from ye Tower to White Hall. Up early and made myself as fine as I could, and put on my velvet coat, the first day that I put it on, though made half a year ago. . . . went to Mr. Young's, the flag-maker in Cornhill; and there we had a good room to ourselves, with wine and good cake, and saw the show very well. In which it is impossible to relate the glory of



At old Coronations it was customary to include two individuals impersonating the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, in token of the two duchies lost to England in the 15th century. The "Dukes" are shown here (right) at the Coronation of King James II, when Sir Francis Lawley and Sir Robert Townshend served the office. They are preceded by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Keeper of the Great Seal.

(From Sandford's "History of the Coronation of James II," 1687.)

Procession and Banquet

this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid, and their horses and horse-clothes, among others, my Lord Sandwich's. Embroidery and diamonds were ordinary among them. The Knights of the Bath was a brave sight of itself. . . . Remarquable were the two men that represent the two Dukes of

doublets. There followed the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir G. Carteret, a company of men all like Turkes; but I know not yet what they are for. . . . So glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome." (*Diary*: Braybrooke [1875].)

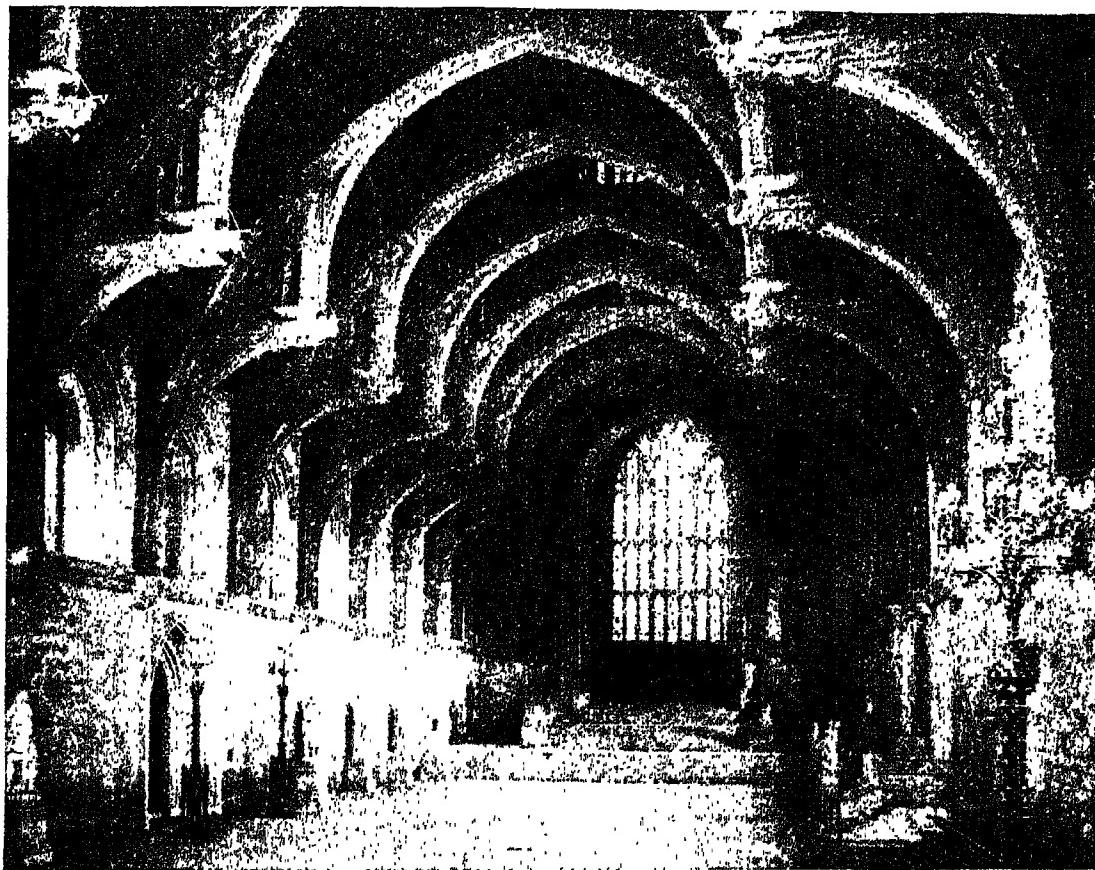


Photo: Frith, Ltd.

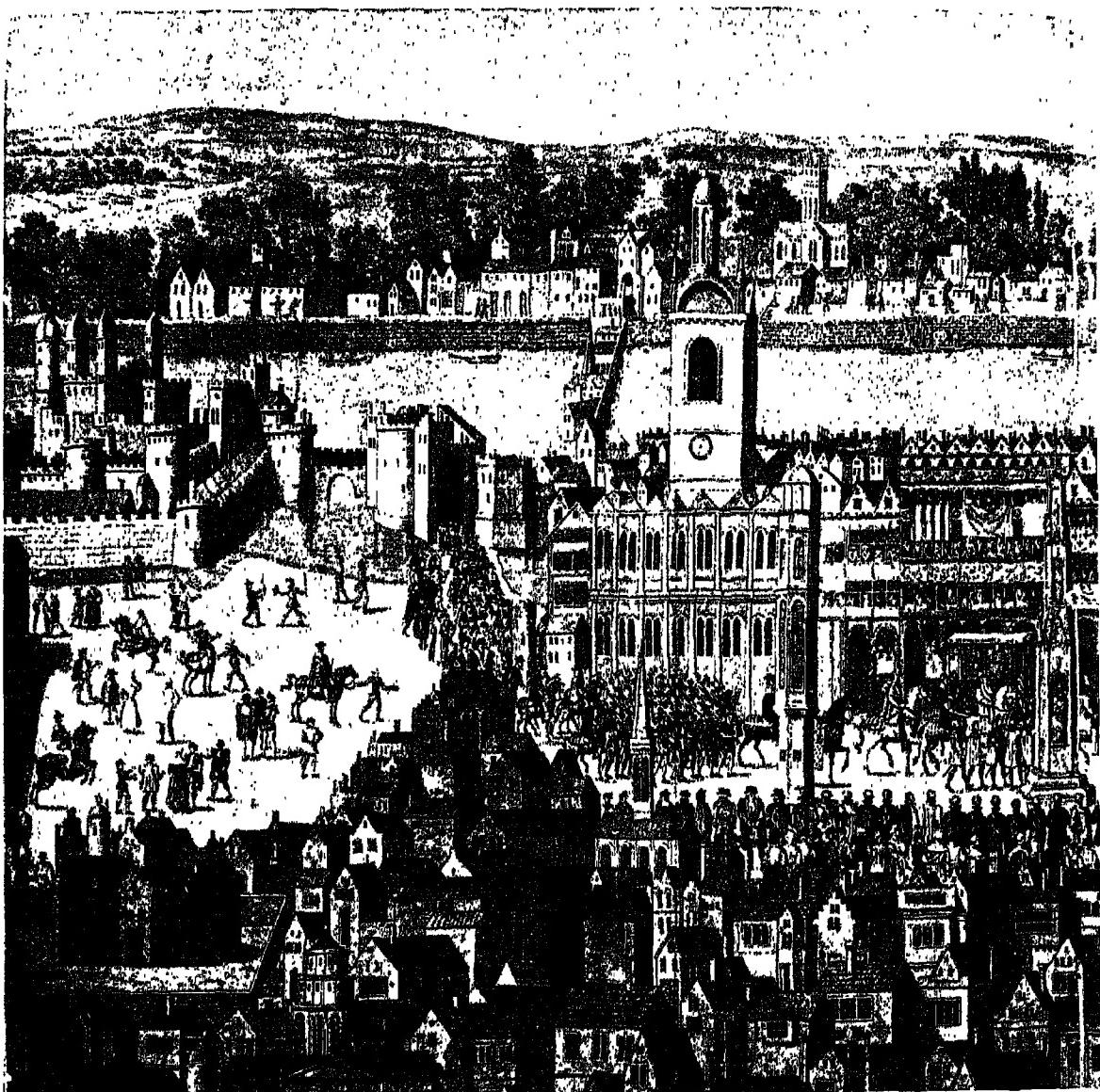
Westminster Hall—scene of the enthronements and magnificent banquets of bygone Coronations—is the most important portion of the old Palace of Westminster that remains to-day. It dates in part from the 11th century, but King Richard II was responsible for the erection of the famous oak roof.

Normandy and Aquitane.* The Bishops come next after the Barons, which is the higher place; . . . My Lord Monk rode bare after the King [Charles II], and led in his hand a spare horse, as being Master of the Horse. The King, in a most rich embroidered suit and cloak, looked most noble. Wadlow, the vintner, at the Devil in Fleet-street, did lead a fine company of soldiers, all young comely men, in white

One passage in Pepys' account requires explanation: the two men personating the "Dukes" of Normandy and Aquitaine. The curious custom of having two men to typify these ancient appanages endured long after the duchies themselves had been lost to us in the middle of the 15th century. In Henry

*[Mr. John Carie and Sir Francis Lawley, both Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. (Walker's *Preparations*.)]

Coronation Cavalcade



The State Procession of King Edward VI from the Tower of London to Westminster, prior to his Coronation, on accuracy, it is none the less most Interesting. The King may

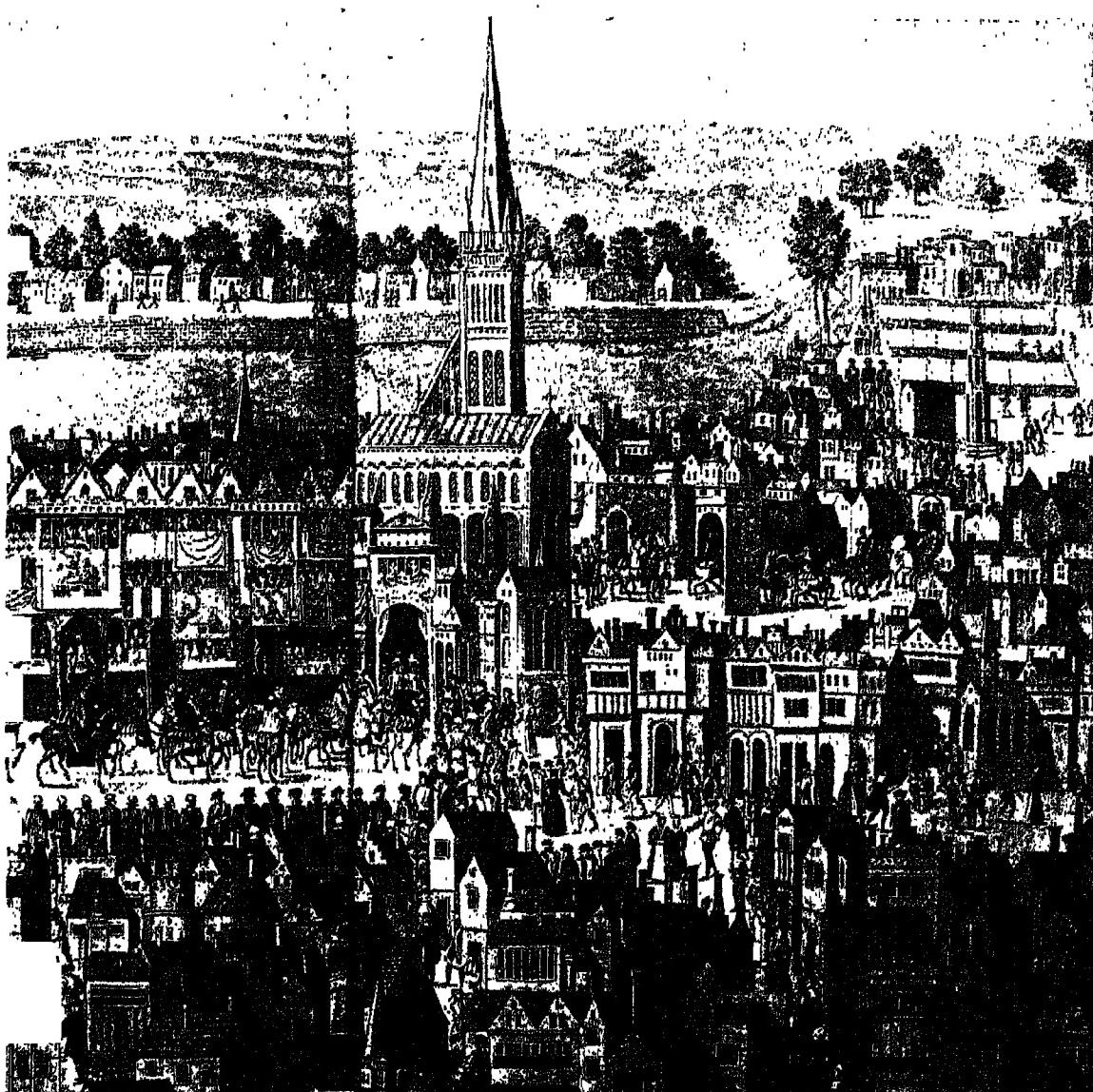
(From an engraving after a painting, formerly at

VII's procession two Squires of the King's Body, William Newton and Davy Phillip by name, represented the King's two "duchesses" or "ducheries" of "Gyen" [sic] and Normandy. Their dress included a mantle furred with ermines, and worn "in baudrick wise," and hat of estate of crimson cloth of gold, "beked on, beks turnyd yppe behinde," and again furred with ermines (*Legg*). In the Procession from the Tower

their place was before that of the Lord Mayor of London.

This custom of the "Dukes" did not cease with the abolition of the Tower procession, for, at James II's Coronation, the "Dukes" of Aquitaine and Normandy were personated by two Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber, Sir Robert Townshend and Sir Francis Lawley, to wit. Sandford describes them as wearing "Robes of Estate of Crimson

Procession and Banquet

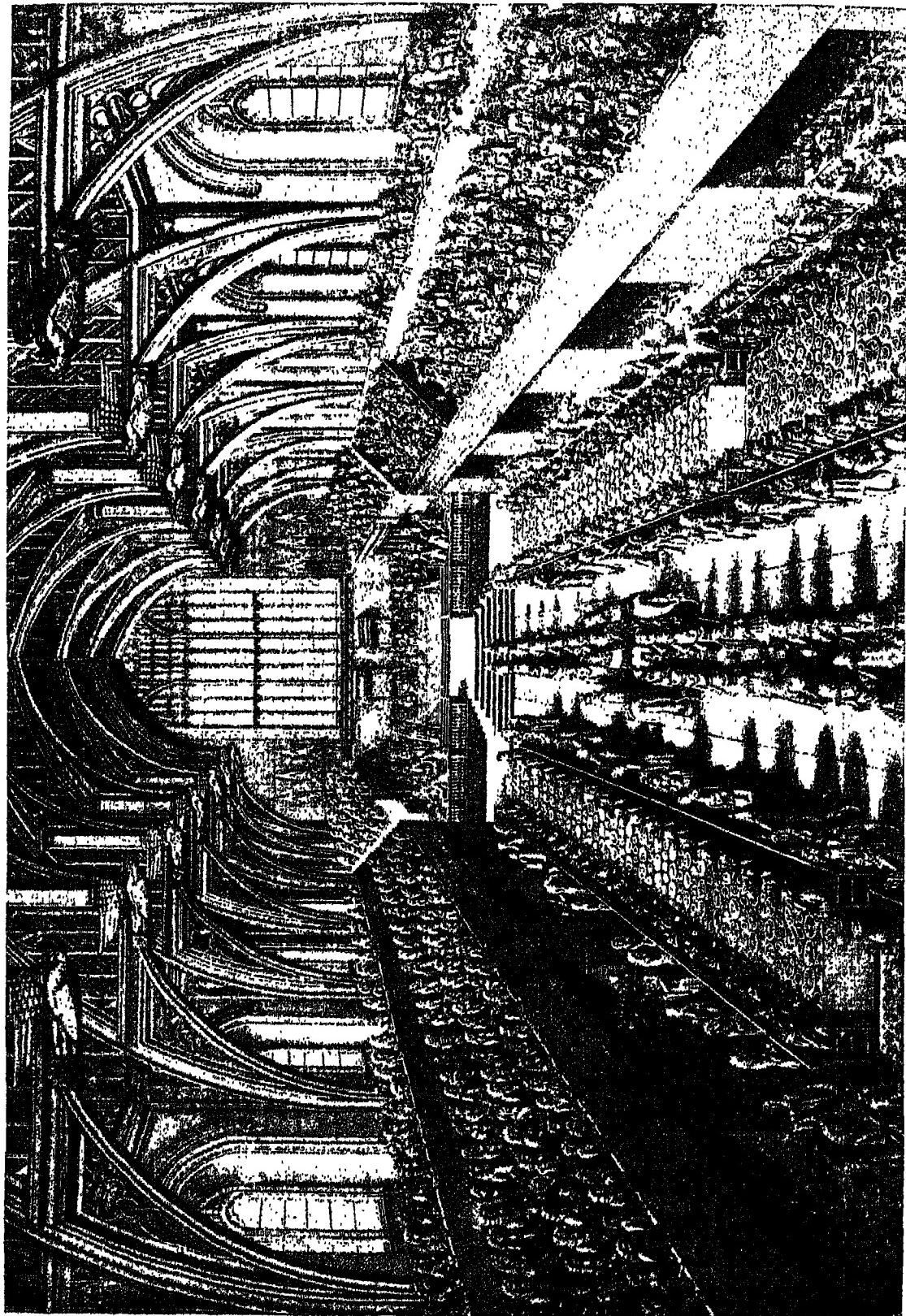


February 19, 1547. Though the picture of mid-16-century London here given is scarcely notable for topographical be seen riding beneath a canopy, in the immediate left centre, Cowdray House, Sussex, and since destroyed.

Velvet, Lined with White Sarcenet, with deep *Capes*, and broad *Facings*, all richly powdered with *Ermine*, and with *Hats* or *Caps* of Estate of Crimson and Gold Podesway, Furred with *Ermine*." These personages then had a good position, not far in advance of the Queen, in the Procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey Church.

At Queen Anne's Coronation the "Dukes" were again represented; at the

next Coronation, that of George I, they were defamed by the Jacobites as "actors." Their robes and caps were not dissimilar from those cited by Sandford. When the King was crowned, and the peers assumed their coronets, the "Dukes" formally donned their cloth of gold and ermined headgear. Moreover, they did homage for dominions which were to them as the "baseless fabric of a vision."



THE CORONATION BANQUET OF KING JAMES II IN WESTMINSTER HALL

At this regal repast no less than 175 dishes were served at the Royal Table.

Making its way up the centre of the Hall is the Service of the First Course.

(From the engraving by S. Moore in Sandford's "History of the Coronation of James II, 1687.")

Procession and Banquet

To the end the office was one of dignity, for, when George III was crowned, the "Dukes" were yet again Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber: Sir William Breton and Sir Thomas Robinson, Bart.

George III's Coronation was the last at which the proclamation of the King's style included allusion to his nominal kingship of France, and thereafter the "Dukes" made no further appearance. In 1801, before the Treaty of Amiens, our claim to the Kingdom of France was dropped, and what had for long been no more than a fiction was finally abandoned. At the same time, the lilies of France ceased to be a quartering of the Royal Arms.

To-day, the Channel Islands are the sole fragments of the Duchy of Normandy left to us. Therein the King is still proudly hailed as Duke of Normandy.

We have seen how the kings of old time rode in procession from the Tower of London to Westminster. On Coronation Day they walked, again in procession, from Westminster Hall to the Abbey; thence, after the crowning, back to Westminster Hall, where the Banquet was held.

This again was a splendid event, and one marked by all manner of gastronomical diversions.

Among the dishes at Henry VI's Banquet were a "bores head enarmed in a castell royll"; "red leche with a whyght lyon crowned therinne"; custards set with a royal leopard of gold, holding a *fleur-de-lys*; fish and fowl of various kinds, sometimes ornamentally treated; "viaunde," written and noted with *Te Deum landamus*; gilt "pyg"; and "fflampayne" (a tart or pie) "p[owdered]" with the leopards of England and the lilies of France.* May I add that *leopard* is here used heraldically and not zoologically. It was the old way of describing a lion, in certain postures, with the head turned towards the spectator.

The more exotic dishes and table devices were called "subtleties." Among others, there was at Henry VI's Banquet a "Sotyltye" in the form of Our Lady and the Holy

Child, "holdyng in every hande a crowne," with kneeling figures of St. George and St. Denis—the patrons of England and France—presenting the King to the Blessed Virgin.

There are many records of such sumptuosities, which may be skipped in order to come nearer home. The cost of provisions for Charles II's Banquet was £1,209 15s. 7½d. At James II's Banquet no less than 175 dishes were served to the Royal Table, ranging from "Anchoviz" to "Souc'd Pigs," and including such items as "Oysters Pickled," Pyramids of Fruit, "*An Oglie, hot,*" "Twelve Leverets, four Larded, *hot,*" periwinkles, and "*Blewmane in Shells, cold.*" Fish, Flesh, Fowl, Sweets and Fruit combined to form a highly indigestible bill of fare.

Much more sumptuous was George IV's Banquet, when the epic *menu* included 160 tureens of soup, 7,442 lbs. of beef, 7,133 lbs. of veal, 2,474 lbs. of mutton, 1,730 lbs. of bacon, 84 hundred of eggs, and 912 lbs. of butter; to say nothing of enormous quantities of liquor. No less than 9,699 porcelain plates of all sorts were provided, with 16,000 knives and forks, and 612 pairs of carvers.

Considering the nature of the event, it is not surprising that the Banquets were sometimes marred by the activities of thieves and *souvenir* hunters. Enormous depredations occurred at Queen Anne's and George I's Banquets. The Lord Great Chamberlain had literally to struggle to preserve the more valuable plate after that of George IV, the tables being looted of their appointments down to the napery. Many pieces of pewter and plate, some bearing royal devices—which are now in private possession—must have been acquired by guests and spectators who did not scruple to "decorate" themselves on this momentous occasion.

And it was a momentous occasion! In a manner of speaking, George IV's was the last Coronation completely designed in an antique manner and surrounded by time-

* Cotton MS., Nero c. ix, ff. 173-174.

Coronation Cavalcade

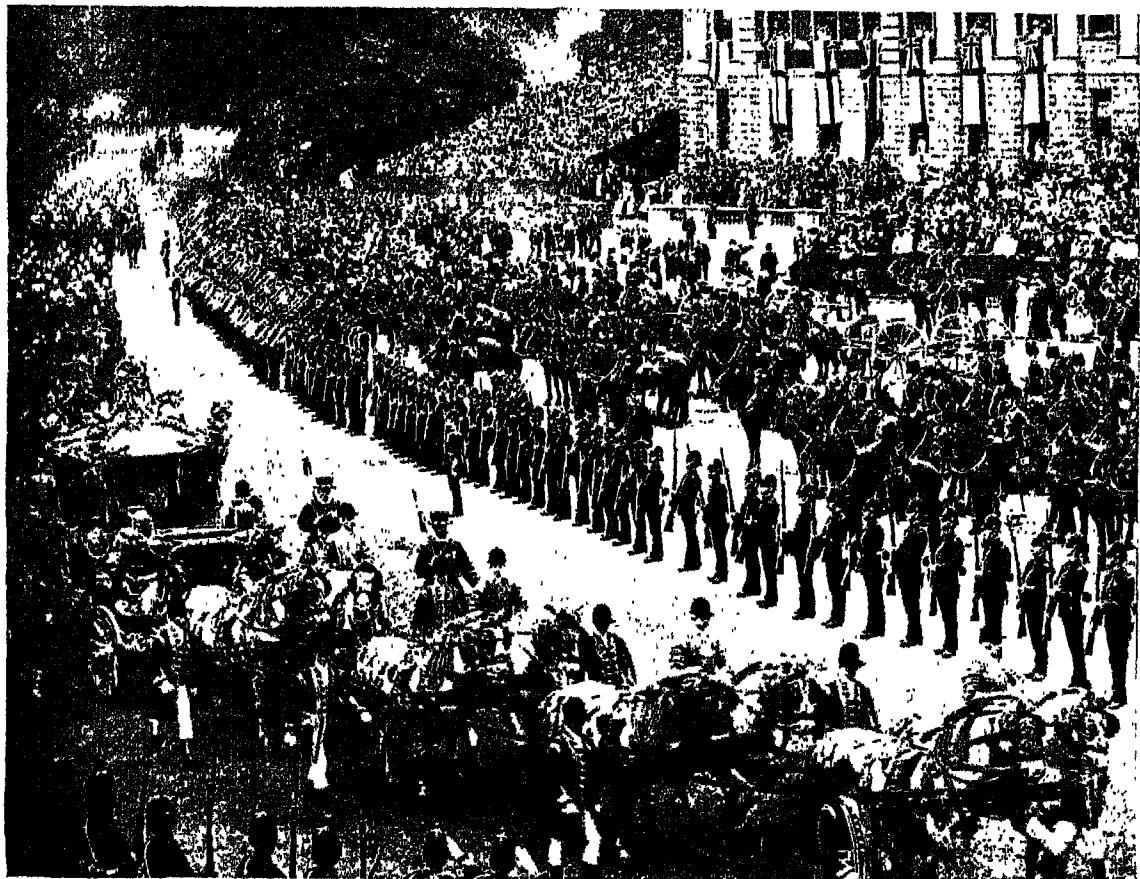
honoured ceremonies, some of which have been since swept away. Nothing relating to a valid inauguration has been lost, unless it be that portion of the election comprised in the pre-Coronation enthronement in Westminster Hall; much that is picturesque and colourful has been retained. Yet the relative tendency in later reigns has been towards greater simplicity.

This movement was based on two causes: partly a matter of zeal, and partly on the score of economy. When William IV entered on his reign, the spirit of Reform was abroad. It was to result in much that was good and much that was harmful. The standard of living might improve, but the art of life was decaying. The honest corruption of the rotten boroughs was to give place to a system which promised the moon

to the voter. The age of the "practical man" was in the ascendant. All manner of beauties were ruthlessly cut from our midst because a "Gradgrind" faction could see "nothing in them."

The nation teemed with "men that lose their fairylands."

As a result of sheer ignorance, the trend to democracy was accompanied by the destruction of one of the Coronation features which could point to a positively democratic origin. Before the King went to the Abbey he was enthroned in Westminster Hall; thence he walked in procession to the Abbey, and after the Coronation he returned to the Hall for the Banquet. The pre-Coronation enthronement (as Wickham Legg wrote in *The Ancestor*) was the "relic of the old Teutonic election of the king by the second



King Edward VII's Coronation Procession at Hyde Park Corner. After being "out of commission" for a long period, the celebrated State Coach, built for King George III, was brought into use again on this occasion.

Procession and Banquet

estate. . . . Had the authorities realized that the king is, in form, elected, first by the second estate in Westminster Hall, and secondly by the first and third estates at the 'Recognition' in the Abbey, they would not, we think, have destroyed so vital a part of the ceremonies; and they would also have perceived that the great procession through the streets was an antecedent to this election, and not a consequent of the coronation."

Neither of the abolished processions—that from the Tower to Whitehall, and that, on foot, to and from Westminster Hall and the Abbey—was merely a means of "getting there." They formed part of the "recognition" of the Monarch by his subjects: part and parcel of the old elective principle.

Fortunately, the same can be said of the modern Procession from Buckingham Palace to the Abbey; which, plus the return journey, is the average subject's main opportunity of seeing the King in state at the time of his crowning. Unless alterations occur, King George VI may drive over a matter of $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles in the course of his progresses

to and from the Abbey, as against the $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles traversed by King George V. This exceptionally long route should give



The State Procession returning along Whitehall from Westminster Abbey after the Coronation of King George V, in June, 1911. Note the street decorations and triumphal arch in the background—a somewhat meagre survival of the whole-hearted pageantry of mediæval times.

Coronation Cavalcade

thousands of spectators a better chance than hitherto of seeing Their Majesties pass in their regals.

Always a popular part of the pageantry, this Procession is usually marked, at any rate in part, by the use of the famous State Coach, built for George III in 1762, at a cost of £7,661 16s. 5d.,* in the values of that time. Sir William Chambers was the designer, and J. B. Cipriani painted the panels. Both became foundation members of the Royal Academy when that body was instituted a few years afterwards. A century later, when Queen Victoria retired into seclusion after the death of Albert, the Prince Consort, in 1861, the State Coach lapsed from use; but was again called out when King Edward VII came to the Throne, and has been seen on many great occasions since.

As now existing, the Coach is not quite the same as when it was built, for King Edward VII had the box and hammer-cloth removed, so that its Royal occupants might be more clearly visible. This detail apart, as an example of a regal vehicle of 18th-century date, the Coach is without a rival.

To return from the present to the past: foot processions to and from the Abbey, and the Banquet in Westminster Hall were swept away at William IV's "Half-Crownation."

The ancient service of Champion of England was relegated to the antiquarian dust-bin. Many other old customs and offices went by the board. As sundry of these have been dealt with, I need not delay with them here. *In lieu* of groping amidst the mass of historical fact relating to the Banquet, I propose to concentrate on the last occasion on which it was held—on that blaze of myriad wax lights which heralded the close.

Among the numerous spectators of George IV's Coronation Banquet in Westminster Hall was one who has left us a vivid pen-picture of his impressions. That magnificent failure, B. R. Haydon, the historical painter, was an admirable artist in words. He sat in the Hall through the day, saw the King enter, leave it to walk to

his crowning, and return for the feast, and the Champion's Challenge in his royal brough.

That Haydon's is an *impression*, and not a reasoned narration, of the thronging events that dazzled his eyes, does not rob it one jot of its value.

The date is July 19, 1821. Says Haydon: "I only got my ticket on Wednesday at two, and dearest Mary and I drove about to get all that was wanted. Sir George Beaumont lent me ruffles and frill, another friend a blue velvet coat, a third a sword; I bought buckles, and the rest I had. I went to bed at ten, and arose at twelve, not having slept a wink. I dressed, breakfasted, and was at the Hall-door at half-past one. Three ladies were before me. The doors opened about four, and I got a front place in the Chamberlain's box, between the door and the throne, and saw the whole room distinctly. Many of the door-keepers were tipsy; quarrels took place. The sun began to light up the old Gothic windows, the peers to stroll in, and other company of all descriptions to crowd to their places. Some took seats they had not any right to occupy, and were obliged to leave them after sturdy disputes. Others lost their tickets. The Hall occasionally echoed with the hollow roar of voices at the great door, till at last the galleries were filled; the Hall began to get crowded below. Every movement, as the time approached for the King's appearance, was pregnant with interest. The appearance of a monarch has something in it like the rising of a sun. There are indications which announce the luminary's approach: a streak of light,—the tipping of a cloud,—the singing of the lark,—the brilliance of the sky, till the cloud-edges get brighter and brighter, and he rises majestically into the heavens. So with a king's advance. A whisper of mystery turns all eyes to the throne. Suddenly two or three rise; others fall back; some talk, direct,

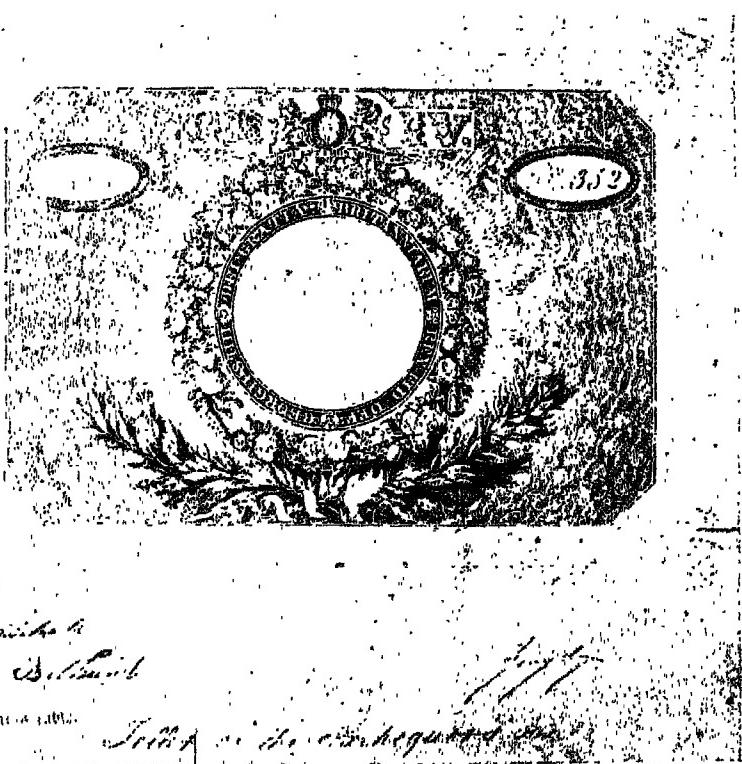
* See contemporary engraving, Print Room, British Museum. (English Historical, 1762. 648.)

Procession and Banquet

hurry, stand still, or disappear. Then three or four of high rank appear from behind the throne; an interval is left; the crowds scarce breathe. Something rustles, and a being buried in satin, feathers, and diamonds rolls gracefully into his seat. The room rises with a sort of feathered, silken thunder. Plumes wave, eyes sparkle, glasses are out, mouths smile, and one man becomes the prime object of attraction to thousands. The way in which the King bowed was really royal. As he looked towards the peeresses and foreign ambassadors, he showed like some gorgeous bird of the East.

"After all the ceremonies he arose, the procession was arranged, the music played, and the line began to move. All this was exceedingly imposing. After two or three hours' waiting, during which the attempt of the Queen* agitated the Hall, the doors opened, and the flower-girls [herb-women] entered, strewing flowers. The grace of their action, their slow movement, their white dresses, were indescribably touching; their light milky colour contrasted with the dark shadow of the archway, which, though dark, was full of rich crimson dresses that gave the shadow a tone as of deep blood; the shadow again relieved by a peep of the crowd, shining in sunlight beyond the gates, and between the shoulders of the guard that crossed the platform. The distant trumpets and shouts of the people, the slow march, and at last the appearance of the King crowned and under a golden canopy, and

the universal burst of the assembly at seeing him, affected everybody. As we were all huzzaing, and the King was smiling, I could not help thinking this would be too much for any human being if a drop of poison were not dropped into the cup ere you tasted it. A man would go mad if mortality did not occasionally hold up the mirror. The Queen was to him the death's-head at this stately feast.



Admission card to Westminster Hall for the Coronation Banquet of King George IV.

"After the banquet was over, came the most imposing scene of all, the champion-ship and bringing in of the first [sic] dishes. Wellington in his coronet walked down the Hall, cheered by the officers of the Guards. He shortly returned, mounted, with Lords Howard and Anglesea. They rode grace-fully to the foot of the throne, and then

* [The unfortunate Caroline of Brunswick's abortive attempt to attend the Coronation, as described in Chapter XV.]



Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

KING GEORGE IV'S CORONATION PROCESSION
Notable as being the last of these historic ceremonies to be accompanied by such colourful pageantry as characterized those of the mediæval Kings. The King is here seen in gorgeous procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey.

(From the water-colour drawing by Charles Wild.)

Procession and Banquet

backed out. Lord Anglesea's horse was restive. Wellington became impatient and, I am convinced, thought it a trick of Lord Anglesea's to attract attention. He never paused, but backed on, and the rest were obliged to follow him. This was a touch of character. The Hall-doors opened again, and outside in twilight a man in dark shadowed armour appeared against the shining sky. He then moved, passed into darkness under the arch, and suddenly Wellington, Howard, and the Champion stood in full view, with doors closed behind them. This was certainly the finest sight of the day. The herald read the challenge; the glove was thrown down. They all then proceeded to the throne. . . ."

One thing, and one thing alone, can excuse the elimination of this superb pageantry: the financial aspect. Some of the old Coronations were almost inconceivably costly. George IV's amounted to approximately £240,000. Drastic economies reduced William IV's to £43,000; and Queen Victoria's, which was known as the "Penny Coronation," to £70,000 only, though a meeting of citizens voluntarily offered to find £100,000 towards the revival of the Banquet and other abandoned pageants. An appreciable part of the expenses of William IV's was negatived by the wish of the King himself, who was all for economy. Queen Adelaide had her crown made up, at her own expense, with her personal jewels. For George IV's Coronation, Rundell and Bridge's bill for the loan of jewels for

the State Crown alone came to £17,900 odd.

Wrote Haydon, under date February 22, 1830: "I never knew till last night that the [State] crown at the Coronation [*i.e.* George IV's] was not bought, but borrowed. Rundell's price was 70,000*l.*, and Lord Liverpool told the King he could not sanction such an expenditure. Rundell charged 7000*l.* for the loan, and as some time elapsed before it was decided whether the crown should be bought or not, Rundell charged 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* more for the interval." That these figures were below the mark is shown by the sum I have already quoted, and which I owe to E. Alfred Jones's *Old Royal Plate*.

Thus the question of cost to a country by no means settled in either temper or pocket, was one of considerable moment. All the same, the curtailment of what may be called the enveloping ceremonies was attended by a deal of iconoclasm. To determine the ancient and highly significant service of the Champion, in throwing down the gage to the King's enemies, was utterly needless. It was not expensive—except perhaps to the Champion himself—and might well have been transferred to some other part of the post-Coronation festivities.

But the "practical" minds won the day. Armour had gone out of usage; the thing was anachronistic. Men could not see beyond a matter of spectacle, to the age-old principle involved. What that principle was must next be discussed.

CHAPTER XIX

King's Champion

THOUGH the actual office has not been performed for over a century, the service of King's Champion is still remembered as one of the most picturesque survivals of feudalism associated with our Coronations.

Probably no such service has a higher antiquity than that of the Champion, whose duty it was to challenge to personal combat anyone who might gainsay the newly-crowned sovereign's right to the throne. Though, for many centuries, the custom possessed little more than a ritual value, it arose from what at one time would have been a necessity.

The practical method of settling a quarrel by violence needs no explanation. From this, the conception of a champion prepared to maintain his sovereign's rights in personal combat was easily evolved. At the inauguration of early chieftains, no doubt, any man of his hands would be ready to start up and meet an objector in battle. This, again, would tend to develop into an honourable office, allotted as occasion required, but eventually crystallizing into a recognized service for which provision was made.

That step attained, the further development of the championship on feudal lines would be merely a matter of time.

It must not be forgotten also that the trial by battle was recognized as a part of the ancient legal system of England. The appeal to combat was, in effect, an appeal to God. It cast the *omnis* on the Deity to strengthen the arm of the claimant who had right on his side.

In theory, at least, there was nothing remarkable in the Divine Justice working in this wise. According to the tenets of the Church, the age of miracles lay not alone in the past. At any moment the Supreme Power might choose to assert itself. Thus,

what better method of settling certain disputes could exist than that which invoked the Deity's *statu*? The form was that of a law court of which God was the High Judge and Arbiter. From it there could be no appeal.

In the case of a newly-elected monarch, the need of a champion was definite. Election, anointing and crowning might be complete. If, thereafter, opposition arose, God alone was capable of trying the issue.

Here the trial by combat came in. The



Sir Edward Dymoke throwing down the gage at King Edward VI's Coronation. He was also Champion of Queen Mary I and Queen Elizabeth.
(After a decoration accompanying his name in the Dymoke pedigree at the College of Arms.)

King's Champion

custom arose that, *after* the coronation ritual, a Champion should stand forth, to contest with arms the objections of any opponent who might still presume to gainsay the right of the king to his honours. That fight—if it happened—would be more than an ordinary combat. It would be an encounter specially umpired by Providence.

Considered in this light, criticism that the challenge was belated, and should have taken place *before* the coronation, falls to the ground.*

Admittedly the conception which I have voiced states the affair at its mediæval best, but it is unnecessary here to examine it closely from a so-called "practical" angle. It was not, of course, at coronations only that champions might be required—continuing to use that term in the sense of a personal representative of the sovereign. Greene, or whoever was responsible for Act IV, Scene vii, of *The Third Part of Henry VI*, has left us an effective picture of a challenge in the Wars of the Roses.

Before the walls of York, there enters Sir John Montgomery, "with drum and soldiers."

"Montgomery:

*Ay, now my sovereign speaketh like himself;
And now will I be Edward's champion.*

Hastings:

*Sound, trumpet; Edward shall be here pro-
claim'd:*

Come, fellow-soldier, make thou proclamation.
(FLOURISH.)

Soldier:

*Edward the Fourth, by the grace of God, king
of England and France, and lord of
Ireland, &c.*

Montgomery:

*And whosoe'er gainsays King Edward's right,
By this I challenge him to single fight.*
(THROWS DOWN HIS GAUNTLET.)

All:

Long live Edward the Fourth!"

Of all challenges, however, by far the most solemn was that delivered after a Coronation. And here it should be said

that there would seem to be no definite record of any Coronation Challenge having been accepted in England. A dubious exception has been cited, which will be dealt with in the next chapter. Certainly, in the mediæval and post-mediæval history of the Coronation, there is no record of any combat arising out of the Challenge at the Banquet.

Legend has it that the office of Champion had been vested in the Marmions since before the Conquest, prior to which their ancestors had been hereditary champions to the Dukes of Normandy. Such tales must be taken with a large pinch of salt. In actual fact, as the late Dr. Horace Round pointed out, the first recognized service of King's Champion occurred in 1377, when it was performed by Sir John Dymoke at Richard II's coronation. At the same time, some sort of right had apparently existed in the Marmion family, for the following reason. Some of the details I owe to Canon Lodge's *Scrivelsby*, and Add. MS. 6,300.

Sir Philip Marmion, who died without male issue, left four daughters as his co-heiresses. Of these, the second, but eldest surviving, married Ralph Cromwell or Cromwell, and, in turn, had a daughter who wedded a Freville. From the latter match descended the Sir Baldwin Freville with whom we shall deal in due course.

Now Sir Philip Marmion's youngest daughter, Jane or Joan, inherited, amongst her share of the Marmion estates, the manor of Scrivelsby, Lincolnshire. This Joan married Sir Thomas Ludlow, and their son, another Thomas, was father of Margaret Ludlow, wife of Sir John Dymoke.

At the Court of Claims for Richard II's

* I am not contending that the challenge was never delivered anywhere but in Westminster Hall. Says Huish: "Anciently the Champion used to ride in the procession as well as in the hall, and to proclaim his challenge publicly in both places. Indeed, at the coronation of Henry IV the challenge was proclaimed in the palace, and at six different places in the city, and in the original form it was used to be proclaimed before the ceremony of crowning."

Coronation Cavalcade

Coronation, both Sir Baldwin Freville and Sir John Dymoke were candidates for the service of Champion. Freville's claim lay partly on his personal descent from the Marmions, whereas Dymoke's was in right



of his wife. Now had the Championship been hereditary in the sense of seniority of kinship, Freville would have had a better case than Dymoke. But Dymoke was lord of Scrivelsby, *jure uxoris*, and the service was held to depend upon tenure of the manor.* In other words, it was an instance of Serjeanty, and Grand Serjeanty at that.

Thus Dymoke's claim succeeded, and he served the office of Champion of England at Richard II's Coronation.

He seems to have approached

*A similar situation arose in 1399 when another claim was made on behalf of the Frevilles; and again at the Court of Claims for Charles II's Coronation, when Edward (afterwards Sir Edward) Dymoke successfully claimed as being actually possessed of the manor of Scrivelsby, and the counterclaims of Robert Heywood and Cressey Dymoke were disallowed; as was that of Thomas Dymoke of London, against Sir Charles Dymoke, at James II's Court of Claims. None of the unsuccessful candidates held the manor of Scrivelsby.

his service with zest; at any rate, having armed and horsed, he arrived at the gates of Westminster Abbey, attended by his squires, one carrying his shield, and the other his spear, with the idea of staying there till Mass should be ended. But his advent was premature, so the Lord Marshal advised him that "he ought not to come at that time, but when the King was at dinner"; that was at the Banquet after the ceremony.

A brief description (abridged from Sandford) of the ceremony of the Challenge at James II's Coronation Banquet will give a sufficiently satisfactory impression of its traditional character.

Before the second course was brought in Sir Charles



Photos: Cartlons (Hornastle), Ltd.
The Armoury at Scrivelsby Court. Some of the harnesses may have been Champions' fees to the Dymokes; others, possibly, being personal or retainers' defences. (Top) Cups received by the Dymokes at Coronations from King James II to King George IV. After drinking his Sovereign's health, the Champion retained the cup as part of his fee.

Dymoke, rode into Westminster Hall, "compleatly armed, in one of His MAJESTIES best Suits of White Armour, mounted on a goodly White Horse, richly Caparison'd." The Champion's helmet was crested with

King's Champion

"a great *Plume of Feathers*," on this occasion of "*White, Blew and Red.*" (At Charles II's Coronation the *bush* had been blue; and at Henry VIII's it was "a great plume and a sumptuous of oistriche fethers." Then the Champion's courser was "trapped in tissue and embroidered with tharmes of England and of Fraunce.")

James II's Champion was preceded by Two Trumpets (or Trumpeters, as we should now say), with the Champion's Arms on their Banners. These were followed by the Sergeant Trumpet, with his Mace on his shoulder; Two Sergeants-at-Arms, with their Maces on their Shoulders; the Champion's two Esquires, richly habited, one on the right hand, with the Champion's lance carried upright, the other, on the left, with his target, blazoned with the Champion's arms.

Next came York, the senior Herald, with a paper containing the words of the Challenge; and thereafter the Champion, with the Earl Marshal on his left hand, and the Lord High Constable on his right. All these three were mounted.

The procession closed with four richly apparelled pages, attendant on the Champion.

The passage to their Majesties' table having been cleared by the Knight-Marshal, York proclaimed the Challenge in a loud voice at the lower end of the Hall:

"If any Person, of what Degree soever, High or Low, shall deny, or gainsay, Our Sovereign Lord King James the Second, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Brother and next Heir to Our Sovereign Lord King Charles the Second, the last King Deceased, to be Right Heir to the Imperial Crown of this Realm of England, or that He ought not to Enjoy the same; Here is His Champion who saith that he Lyeth, and is a False Traytor, being ready in Person to Combat with him; And in this Quarel will adventure his Life against him, on what day soever he shall be appointed."

And then the Champion threw down his gauntlet.



Sir Charles Dymoke delivering the First Challenge at King James II's Banquet, in Westminster Hall.

(From an engraving by Scott, after the plate by Yeates in Sandford's "History of the Coronation of James II." This late variant of a popular composition was published in 1820.)

After it had "lain some small time," York took it up and returned it to the Champion.

The procession then moved forward to the middle of the Hall, where the Challenge was repeated in like manner.

For the third time, the Challenge was delivered at the foot of the steps to the Royal Dais. The gauntlet, after lying "some time," was delivered back to the Champion, who made a low obeisance to the King.

The Earl of Huntingdon, as Cupbearer, and his assistants, then brought to the King "a *Gilt Bowl of Wine*, with a *Cover.*" In this cup the King drank his Champion's health, and then sent it to the latter for his fee. Having donned his gauntlet, the Champion received the cup, "and retiring a little, Drank thereof, and made his *Humble Reverence to His Majesty.*"

Coronation Cavalcade

Thereafter, the Champion's procession retired from the Hall.

What Sandford does not mention—and a book so officially inspired could not be expected to do so—is Pryme's tradition that when Dymoke dismounted to kiss the King's hand, he "fell down all his length in the hall," though "there was nothing in the way that could visibly cause the same."

Mary of Modena turned the mishap with a jest.

"See you, love," remarked she to the King, "what a weak Champion you have."

And James "laughed." But the stumble was ranked with the array of unfortunate omens which are supposed to have attended his Coronation.

As for Dymoke, he made what excuses he might, by alluding to the weight of his armour, and protesting that "he himself was weak with sickness, which was false."

Tradition refers to an armour now in the London Museum as being part of Sir Charles Dymoke's fee on this trying occasion.

From the Ordnance Records as quoted by Charles J. ffoulkes, it is clear that this harness is not the one which he actually wore. It may have been the best harness save one, which the Champion

was permitted to choose from the Royal Armouries as part of his fee. For the fee was threefold. It consisted not only of the gold (or silver-gilt) cup in which the health of the Champion was drunk, but (at any rate nominally) the king's best armour save one, and the king's best charger save one, with the furniture in which it was ridden by the Champion.

According to Huish and Legg, however, the amount of the fee was conditional. If he fought, the armour and horse were his; if not, he might have the cup only. But for long the prevailing custom was as I have described.

The London Museum's armour referred to is a Greenwich built harness of *circa* 1640. It figured in the Dymoke sale at Christie's in 1877, when it was bought by the late W. B. Redfern. When the Redfern collection, then belonging to Sir Gerald Ryan, of Hintlesham Hall, Ipswich, was sold in 1934, this armour was purchased by the National Art-Collections Fund, and given to the London Museum.

Not unnaturally, more than one of the Dymokes evinced a desire to keep the actual harness which he had worn as Champion. In later times, at any rate, this was lent to him from the Ordnance. Citations from



London Museum.
Armour reputed to be part of Sir Charles Dymoke's fee as Champion to King James II. It was built in the Royal Armoury at Greenwich, circa 1640, and was formerly preserved in the Dymoke family.

King's Champion

the Ordnance Records by Charles J. ffoulkes, in his *Inventory* of the Tower Armouries, and by Jones in *Crowns & Coronations*, show that the Charles Dymoke who served at the Coronations of William and Mary, and Anne, contrived to annex the armour he actually wore at the former. But when Lewis Dymoke, after championing George I, demanded the suit he had worn, it was pointed out that this could not be allowed, as it had been a royal armour. The matter was settled by paying Dymoke the sum of £60. Actually the suit was the "Lion" harness of Charles I, which is still in the Tower. (Laking: *Record*.) A tradition that the famous armour of Sir Christopher Hatton, now at Windsor, was that used by Lewis Dymoke in 1714 is erroneous; but that the armour for the man was a Champion's fee on some occasion is possible. After leaving the Dymokes in 1877, it eventually rejoined the companion armour for the horse in the Royal Collections.

* * * *

Of such, broadly, was the ceremony of the Challenge which, saving this or that detail, may probably have altered but little throughout its long history. From 1377 to 1821 a Dymoke of Scritelsby served the office of Champion at every Coronation Banquet. But after young Henry Dymoke, as deputy for his clerical father, had flung down the gage in George

IV's honour, the service was regrettably permitted to lapse.

An account by an eyewitness, sometimes attributed to Scott, described Henry Dymoke as "a fine looking youth, but bearing perhaps, a little too much the appearance of a maiden-knight to be the challenger of the world in a King's behalf. He threw down



British Museum.

(Sir) Henry Dymoke, (Deputy) Champion at King George IV's Banquet, correctly showing him in the "Maximilian" armour hired for the occasion.

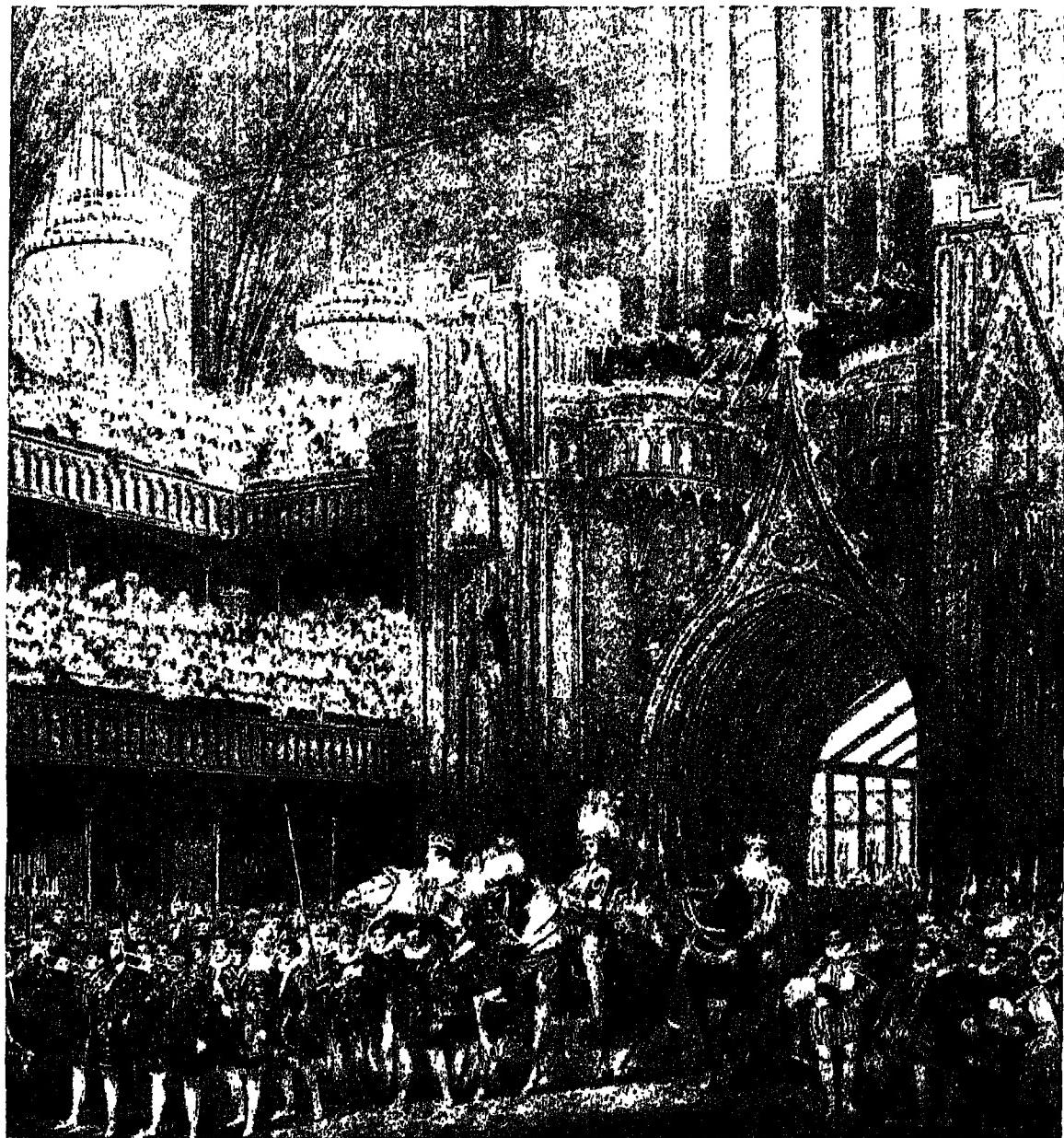
(From a contemporary coloured lithograph by Edward Hull, after Abraham Cooper, R.A.)

his gauntlet, however, with becoming manhood, and showed as much horsemanship as the crowd of Knights and Squires around him would permit to be exhibited."

Prints of this last Challenge vary in detail, and some are imaginative; but the Champion wore a bright armour "in good taste," though "his shield was out of all propriety."

This Henry Dymoke was created a baronet in 1841, twenty years after the last service of the Challenge. As Tom Hood dis-

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Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

King George IV's Champion entering Westminster Hall on his piebald charger. The Triumphal Arch was designed by Mr. Hlort, one of the architects of the Board of Works.

(Detail from a water-colour drawing attributed to Charles Wild.)

respectfully wrote in *The Champion's Farewell*:

"Here! hang up my helmet, and reach me my beaver,
This avoirdupois weight of glory must fall;
I think on my life that again I shall never
Take my head in a sauce-pan to Westminster
Hall."

Never! Though with the strong good sense characteristic of him, King Edward VII permitted a Dymoke to serve the high office of bearing the Standard of England at his Coronation; and the precedent was followed at that of King George V.

A word should be said here of the best

King's Champion

charger save one, which in old times had formed part of the Champion's fee. In this case, as in that of the armour, a composition was sometimes arrived at.

This happened in the case of Bucephalus, which was—or is said to have been—ridden by John Dymoke, when championing King George III. Bucephalus had carried—and bolted with—King George II at the Battle of Dettingen, when that plucky monarch showed such spirit in rallying his troops. According to Lodge, in his *Scrivelsby* (2nd edition, 1894):

"Some few years ago, there was at Scrivelsby Court an interesting relic of this old horse in the shape of a white tail with a parchment scroll attached, stating that it was the tail of the horse that carried George II at Dettingen; but, unfortunately, it cannot now be found."

At the time of George III's Coronation, Bucephalus would have been at least twenty-two years of age. It was on this same occasion that an untoward event is supposed to have happened; but let us break ground in a new chapter.

CHAPTER XX

Was the Challenge Accepted?

WAS the Champion's Challenge to single combat ever accepted in Westminster Hall?

Anyone taking up the gage of battle would thereby automatically contest the right of the newly-crowned king to his dignities. The act would imply that serious opposition existed to the monarch's election and consecration, and that the ultimate decision was to rest with the mediæval conception of trial by combat.

Such, at any rate, would have been the interpretation placed on the acceptance of the gage in the Middle Ages; and even when the Champion's Challenge had dwindled to a mere matter of custom and pageantry, the symbolic importance of an overt act of opposition would have been sufficiently serious.

In actual fact, there would seem to be no suggestion that the Challenge was taken up until quite a late stage of its history, the occasion more generally favoured for it being the Coronation of George III in 1761. This event came at a time when the hopes of the Jacobite party were dwindling. The Legitimist rebellions of the 'Fifteen and the 'Forty-five, in favour of the exiled Stewarts, had failed. George was the third of the Hanoverian line to ascend the throne, and, what is more, he gloried in having been born a Briton; a distinction which could not be numbered among the claims of his rival, Bonnie Prince Charlie. Though no fanatical Jacobite would concede a tittle of right to George III's position as King of these realms, there remained the fact that, despite the Jacobite revival of 1750 or thereabouts, the reigning house *de facto* had greatly consolidated its position.

In other words, the House of Hanover was becoming an institution, the which, in this country, is deemed the highest of merits.

It is easily understood that this fact alone might have spurred the die-hard Jacobite elements into some overt assertion of the claims of their "monarch *de jure*." That such an assertion should be delivered at some stage of the Coronation ceremonies would be testimony that the voice of the nation was by no means unanimous in favour of George. Not less important (in Jacobite eyes) would be the demonstration of loyalty to the cause of Divine Right as opposed to the theory of election.

A rumour got about that, with characteristic audacity, Prince Charles Edward himself had attended the Coronation Banquet in Westminster Hall, confining his *rôle* to that of a simple spectator. To a bystander, who recognized him and expressed surprise at his presence there, the Young Chevalier is supposed to have remarked:

"It was curiosity that led me, but I can assure you that the person who is the cause of all this pomp and magnificence is the man I envy least."

Amongst the throng of onlookers there must have been many supporters of the Prince whose attitude was less resigned than his. And legend has stated that when the Champion rode into the Hall and delivered his Challenge, an incident occurred which amounted not only to accepting the gage, but to defying the King to his face.

There are various forms of the story. One declares that a white glove fell from a gallery; another, that a young woman, or a person dressed as a young woman, stepped

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forward, picked up the Champion's gauntlet, and was as promptly lost to sight in the press of spectators. In the interests of decency, the matter was hushed up.

That, roughly, is the position, but the



National Portrait Gallery, London.

An attractive legend long persisted that Prince Charles Edward Stewart was present, as "Mr. Brown," at the Coronation Banquet of King George III. The King is seen in his Coronation Robes.

(Left: Studio of Allan Ramsay. Right: Pastel drawing, artist unknown, c. 1745.)

matter is worth taking further. If a white glove—the white cockade was a Jacobite favour—did fall from one of the galleries it was a singularly feeble defiance. Indeed, it may have been no more than an accident. We all of us know that such mischances can happen in theatres without possessing any political significance.* On the other hand, the dubious story of a woman picking up the Champion's gauntlet attained a force which resulted in its being immortalized by Scott.



National Portrait Gallery, London.

Without accepting the tradition, Sir Walter utilized it as the basis of an effective incident in *Redgauntlet*. This is admittedly fiction, but it gives a colourful impression of what might have happened.

The lovely Lilius tells how a small party entered Westminster Hall by dark and narrow passages. Standing in the press, her eyes were at first dazzled by the splendour of the "ten thousand wax lights." But soon she distinguished the "huge ranges of tables," occupied by prelates, nobles, and judges in their "awful" (*i.e.* awe-full) robes; and the Sovereign himself surrounded by the princes of the blood.

As time passed Lilius noticed that her uncle, who had brought her hither, had

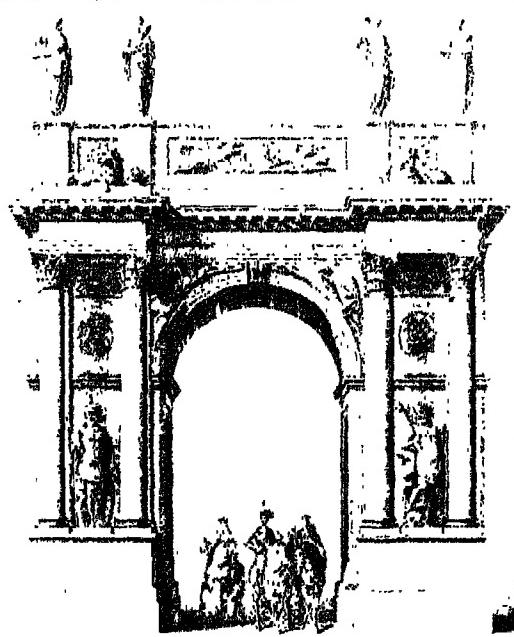
* "In one of the magazines of that day, it is said that a lady in the gallery accidentally dropped a silk glove, which the herald took up, and jocularly handed to the champion, who in a similar spirit asked, 'Who is my fair opponent?' But even this anecdote was contradicted by the herald." (*Chapters on Coronations*.)

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friends in the crowd, who exchanged private signs, and "gradually formed a little groupe" about them. Pressing a glove into her hand, her uncle bade her conceal it in the train of her dress, and to obey him in every particular.

Suddenly, with a loud fanfare of trumpets, the Champion rode into the Hall, to deliver his Challenge.

At the third sounding a lane opened in the



John Dymoke entering Westminster Hall at the Banquet of King George III when, according to legend, the gauntlet was taken up by an onlooker. The Triumphal Arch was designed by Mr. Oram.

(From a print in the "Universal Museum," January, 1762.)

crowd before Lilius, "as if by word of command."

Following her uncle's injunction, the heroine darted out, picked up the Champion's gage and left hers in return. She as quickly retired, the lane closing behind her, and was speedily smuggled out of the building.

As her listener, Darsie Latimer, observed: He had often heard that "a female, supposed to be a man in disguise," had "taken up the champion's gauntlet" at George III's Ban-

quet, leaving "in its place a gage of battle, with a paper offering to accept the combat, provided a fair field should be allowed for it." But as Darsie was gallant enough to remark, Lilius did not "look very masculine." (*Redgauntlet*, Chapter 18.)

In pursuit of his calling as a writer of fiction, Scott sometimes exceeded what would now be recognized as the wildest flights of the Hollywood film makers. On the other hand, he frequently annotated his text with notes imparting a truer complexion to the matter in hand. In this case his scrupulousness found outlet as follows:

"In excuse of what may be considered as a violent infraction of probability . . . the author is under the necessity of quoting a tradition which many persons may recollect having heard. It was always said, though with very little appearance of truth, that upon the Coronation of the late George III when the Champion of England, Dymock, . . . appeared in Westminster Hall . . . an unknown female stepped from the crowd and lifted the pledge, leaving another gage in room of it, with a paper expressing, that if a fair field of combat should be allowed, a champion of rank and birth would appear with equal arms to dispute the claim of King George to the British kingdoms. The story is probably one of the numerous fictions which were circulated to keep up the spirits of a sinking faction. . . ."

There, but for one or two points, the matter might comfortably rest, were it not that a writer of pronouncedly anti-Jacobite views has admitted that the gage was picked up at George III's Coronation Banquet, and by a woman. This time, however, it is no young, lovely and high-souled heroine with whom we are concerned, but an old and colossally ignorant beldame, entirely lacking in any sense of the obvious.

This farcical version of the story is given as follows, by the Rev. Jonas Dennis in *A Key to the Regalia* (1820):

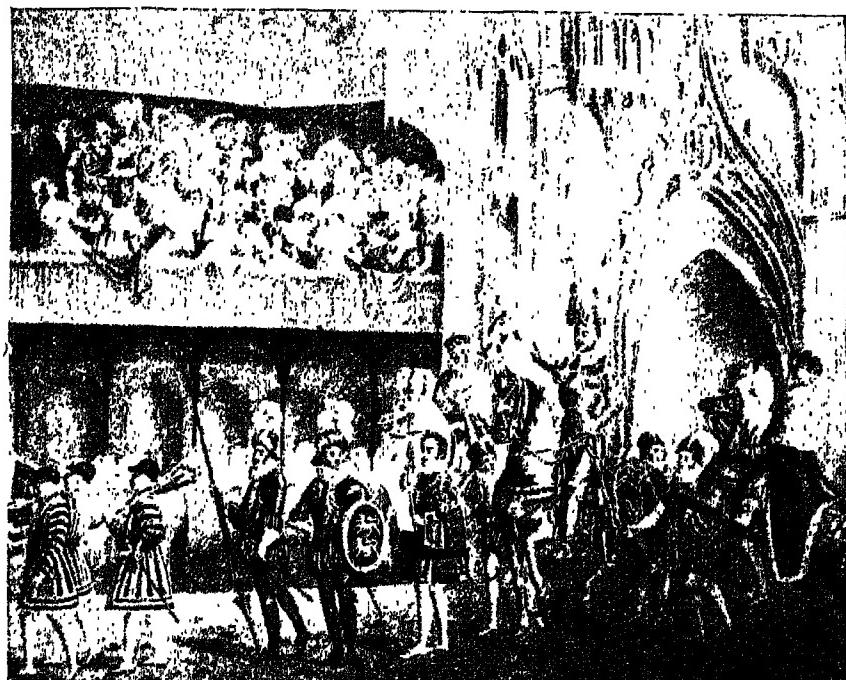
"At the time of the last Coronation [*i.e.*

Was the Challenge Accepted?

George III's], the heralds must have been almost startled, at witnessing the signal actually made for acceptance of the challenge. No sooner was the gauntlet thrown down, than it was instantly taken up, but happily for the peace of the nation, no contest ensued; for lo! the disputant who seized the gauntlet was—an old woman, who, not understanding the signal of a challenge, and reluctant that so finely dressed a gentleman should lose his glove in so great a crowd, very kindly picked it up, and took the greatest care of it!"

Here, we might argue, is a Hanoverian counterblast designed to discredit the tale of a Jacobite challenger. But the matter is further complicated when we find almost precisely the same story told, not of George III's Banquet, but that of William and Mary. This more circumstantial version introduces an "old woman on crutches." She is said to have snatched up the gage, "and made off with great celerity, leaving her own glove with a challenge in it, to meet her the next day, at an appointed hour in Hyde-park. This occasioned some mirth at the lower end of the hall; and it was remarkable that everyone was too well engaged to pursue her. A person in the same dress appeared the next day at the place appointed, though it was generally supposed to be a good swordsman in that disguise. However, the Champion of England politely declined any contest of that nature with one of the fair sex, and never made his appearance." (*Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser*, August, 1784.)

It would be straining coincidence to suppose that elderly females picked up the gage at two distinct coronations. Wherefore it may be assumed that one story was the child of the other. Which came first I candidly do not know, but it seems probable that whichever it may have been was either fictitious, or grossly exaggerated. It is significant that no allusion whatever is made to such an occurrence in the personal account of his service written by George



British Museum.
The Champion's armour in this comparatively accurate representation of the First Challenge at King George IV's Banquet may be compared with that shown in Abraham Cooper's delineation on p. 153.
(From a coloured lithograph.)

III's Champion, John Dymoke, though his statement is very precise. Significant, also, that so punctilious a biographer as Alice Shield could discover "no shadow of evidence" for the story. (*Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York*.)

There remains this question: At what stage of the Challenge could the gage have been spirited away without causing a widespread and national sensation? The Hall was thronged with spectators. At each

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stage of the Challenge the gauntlet lay on the ground until retrieved by the Herald and restored to the Champion. Had it disappeared at the lower end of the Hall, what used the Champion for a gage at the second and third deliveries of the Challenge? Laboriously unbuckle his left-hand gauntlet with the help of scandalized officials? Or, if at the top of the Hall, did he ride off with his right hand unarmed, and *minus* a part of a valuable armour? What evidence is there for that? If somebody did pick up the gauntlet, it could scarcely have been more than a matter of minutes or seconds before it was rescued.

Anyhow, it is a good story, well worth retelling.

Nowadays we are luckily free from the dynastic rancours which lent importance to tales of that ilk. None but the most bigoted opponent of the White Rose will deny sympathy to the plight of the exiled Stewarts of the ancient line, or grudge admiration to the splendid devotion of their loyal adherents. But the theory of Divine Right cannot maintain in these realms. By Statute, Election, Unction, and Crowning, the House of Hanover ascended the throne; by the same right the House of Windsor holds it to-day. The House of Stewart had held that right—and lost it. In the same manner as our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, we

appointed another branch of the Royal Family in their stead. *Sicut Domus!*

Thus, whether our sympathies be vaguely "White Rose," or for the King and the Dynasty, we can afford to tolerate Jonas Dennis' plodding satire. *Apropos* of his version of the "old woman" anecdote, he adds:

"Had this ludicrous occurrence not originated in mere accident, but been the result of a hint from the Heralds' College, nothing could have been more appropriate; for who but an old woman can for a moment be expected to dispute the title of the reigning family to the crown, now when the spirit of Jacobitism has subsided; when the white rose ceases to be a badge; and the bell-roofed summer-houses are fast falling into decay, where once was sung in chorus, 'God save great James our King'; and when the treasonable imprecation is no longer conveyed by the significant hesitation of the voice in exclaiming, 'hang the King — 's picture!'"

For who but an old woman—! An unworthy jest, when one remembers the agonized devotion of brave men and women of whom it makes game. But unless we realize the bitterness which still separated the White Cockade and the Black at that time, we cannot appreciate the true significance of this disputed "acceptance" of the Challenge in Westminster Hall.



A vigorous reconstruction of the Welland disaster in 1216, when a part of King John's army was overwhelmed by the tide and his Regalia are supposed to have been lost. It seems to be more than probable, however, that at the time this incident occurred, the King's Regalia were in safe custody at Corfe Castle.

(From the drawing by Gordon Browne, R.I. in "A History of England." Courtesy of Cassell & Co.)

CHAPTER XXI

Crown Jewels in Danger (i)

WHEN Henry III was crowned for the first time, at Gloucester in 1216, the ceremony was performed with a chaplet or circlet of gold. There was more than one reason for this. In the first place, Westminster was then in the hands of the French; to have brought the Great Regalia from the stronghold of Corfe Castle would have been

to run the risk of seizure; and, thirdly, that the "right of Canterbury" in regard to the actual crowning had to be respected.

By ancient custom the solemn imposition of the crown upon the royal head belonged to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The ceremony at Gloucester was performed by the Bishop of Winchester. Thus, the fullest form of the rite was reserved until

Coronation Cavalcade

performed by Langton at Westminster in 1220.

There are enough causes here for the first coronation of Henry III to have taken the unusual form that it did, without searching further afield for a reason. But the obvious explanation is seldom acceptable, and a different theory arose.

Henry III was crowned with a simple circlet because his father had lost the Crown in the Wash! Generations of schoolboys have accepted not only the jape, but the colourful story on which it was based. Moreover, sincere and serious attempts have been made to recover the treasure lost by John in the fields which now cover the ancient quicksands of the Welland.

It is a terrible picture: the army caught by an inrush of the tide; men weighted down by their harness, and laden sumpter-horses struggling helplessly in the pitiless grip of the sea. And when the survivors struggled on to firmer soil, it was with the grim knowledge that the King's treasure with his Crown lay amidst the corpses beneath those treacherous waters.

Such, in effect, was the tale; and in 1906 a discovery was made which was at first believed to substantiate it. I have before me as I write, a cutting from the *Daily Graphic* of April 24, 1906, which gave the story with a scarcely sufficient reserve:

"An interview with Mr. [afterwards Sir W.] St. John Hope . . . was recently published in the *Daily Graphic* on the subject of his new theory with regard to the whereabouts of the long-lost baggage of King John. The news published yesterday of the finding of a cup at the identical spot indicated by Mr. Hope, while it does not necessarily follow that the cup ever had anything to do with the fugitive monarch

whose Royal regalia and other baggage were lost in the Wash nearly seven hundred years ago, will probably prove an incentive to treasure seekers to search for the remainder of the jewels.

"The question whether it would ever be possible to recover the lost baggage had been discussed by archaeologists from time to time, but it was left to Mr. Hope, apparently, to think of working out the tides right back to the day on which the disaster occurred. Mr. Hope is satisfied that he has traced every step of King John in his flight and the great point in his finding . . . is that the spot at which he places the treasure lies to-day well inland—somewhere near Sutton Bridge. The following account is given of the discovery of the cup . . . :



At one time thought to have been part of King John's treasure lost in the Wash, this "loving-cup," dug up near Sutton Bridge in 1906, was eventually identified as the base of an old-fashioned oil lamp.

(After the "Daily Graphic.")

for it. On being cleaned, the cup, standing eight inches high, was found to be of silver weighing over $2\frac{1}{2}$ lb., bearing the date 1162. It has two filleted handles of gold attached by lions' heads to the cup. The pedestal and base are also beautifully chased. Although tarnished and green with age, the 'loving cup' is in a fine state of preservation, and is of exquisite workmanship."

I reproduce that news item because it affords one of the finest examples I know of the danger of circumstantial evidence. Until the line where the description of the "loving cup" commences, it strikes a fairly convincing note. But that description—

Crown Jewels in Danger

including the date—makes one pause, and a glance at illustrations of what was already called “King John’s Cup” gives the game completely away.

The pseudo-renaissance ornament of this so-called “loving cup” was hopelessly inappropriate to the reign of Henry II. In short, the “cup” was nothing more than the base of a modern oil lamp, and the “date” (in Arabic numerals, which were not used in England until long after the 12th century) was the manufacturer’s pattern number. The pendent handles were thus not the only things connected with the “cup” that were “filleted.”

Let it be said, here and now, that so good an antiquary as St. John Hope cannot be held responsible for connecting this “cup” with King John. On the other hand, his findings as to the loss of that monarch’s baggage train in the Wellstream, in October, 1216, have unwittingly encouraged the growth of a myth.

When my friend, Charles R. Beard, was writing *The Romance of Treasure Trove*, in which the Welland disaster is dealt with at length, I had the advantage of many discussions with him concerning this interesting problem. I shall not be intruding on ground which he has made very much his own, if I briefly recount the main reasons for supposing that *John did not lose any of the Regalia in the Wash*.

In the first place, it must be premised that any Regalia which might have been “lost” was the Privy Regalia. John’s Great Regalia were used for Henry III’s second coronation in 1220, nearly four years after the Wellstream affair. But the balance of evidence is in favour of both the Regalias having remained in safe custody at Corfe,

where they had been deposited out of harm’s way (*op. cit.*).

Furthermore, as Beard says, “John and his immediate followers ran no risk whatever of being overwhelmed by the tide or swallowed up in the quick-sands of the Wash.” He did not travel “along the coast of the Wash but well inland by Wisbech.” His route is established from documentary sources, and it is too much to suppose that his Privy Regalia, to say nothing of his jewels, coffers of specie, and other valuables, would not travel under his immediate care through a by no means unhostile neighbourhood.

That some disaster befell one of his trains need not be doubted, but that it involved the Regalia seems out of the question. Plunder of sorts may lie there, with the bones of men and beasts, rotting armours, and the munitions of war. But whether these riches be such as survive, whether they will prove to possess anything more than antiquarian value, or whether they have long since decayed out of all recognition can only be proved by the luckiest of strikes.

In Edward I’s time the Royal Treasury at Westminster was the scene of a daring robbery.

One night, a certain R. de Podlicote set a ladder against the Chapter House, and effected entrance through one of its windows. Thence he proceeded without hindrance to the cloisters, and broke into the Refectory whence he annexed a haul of silver plate and mazer hanaps.

Nearing Christmas, 1302, Podlicote was out of funds again, and planned a second raid. Eight days before the Festival he began to set about the robbery of the Royal Treasury itself. This mediæval cave of



Effigy of King John on
his tomb in Worcester
Cathedral.
*(From Stothard's "Monumental
Effigies.")*

Coronation Cavalcade



Photo: W. F. Mansell.

The Chapel of the Pyx, Westminster Abbey, is the supposed scene of Podlicote's extensive robbery of the Royal Treasury in 1303. It is one of the oldest surviving portions of the Abbey buildings and may have been part of St. Edward the Confessor's structure, though various alterations have been made to it at later dates.

Aladdin was situate in either the vault of the Chapter House or the adjacent Chapel of the Pyx: both massy, vaulted chambers, ponderously closed. J. G. Noppen (*Chapter House and Pyx Chapel, Westminster Abbey*) favours the latter of these structures. It would have been quite impossible for the thief to crack this crib without connivance, though he loyally took the whole blame on himself. When one reflects that Podlicote worked there o' nights *over a period of four months*, it becomes obvious that for his activities to have escaped all notice would have been well-nigh miraculous.

On St. Mark's Eve (April 24), 1303, Podlicote effected entry to the Treasury.

About him were the strong coffers, and above his head the stone ribs of the vault, springing from a pillar of mighty girth.

The place was very dark and still. A light would be needed; but on that night, Podlicote did no more than look around, and decide what he should take. Through all St. Mark's Day he lay quietly in that crypt-like gloom, planning what he should abstract. "Which he did the night after, and the night after that, and the remainder he carried away with him out of the gate behind the church of St. Margaret, and put it at the foot of the wall beyond the gate, covering it with earth." (Burtt.)

For a temporary dump, he had the hemp-

Crown Jewels in Danger

tangled cemetery behind the Chapter House and near St. Margaret's Church, which, kept untended, would do well as a hide for what could not be carried at the moment. (Dean Stanley and others have been criticized for identifying this *cache* with the cloister garth, though it should at least be said in their favour that burial *was* performed in the garth. Maybe *both* places were utilized for concealment, though the cemetery behind the Chapter House was obviously the more suitable for the "get-away.") It was alleged that John de Lynton, one of the monks, had thoughtfully planted that hemp seed, and that the gardener had been let from doing his duty there.

Podlicote abstracted a huge amount of plate and jewels from the Treasury. The Regalia, including no less than four Crowns, he seemingly did not attack, and Henry III's coronation ring was afterwards found lying amidst the scattered jewels and *débris* on the floor of the chamber with Edward I's privy seal. Some of the plunder was hidden for a while in a tomb; and two panniers, covered with black leather, were used to remove the swag to the Abbot's Mill on the Mill Bank.

When Edward learnt the news in June, 1303, he clapped the monks of the Abbey in the Tower, and another forty persons to keep them company. The sub-Prior and Sacrist were implicated. After two years' confinement the monks were let go. Podlicote alone was found in possession of £2,000 worth of loot; and the case of the

Holy Cross of Neyth—part of Longshanks' Welsh spoils—with a "unicorn's horn" (supposed to be useful for detecting poison in drink), and other valuables were collected from under the bed of William de Paleys (Palais), another conspirator. Doubtless that crop of hemp then bore human fruit.

This was certainly an occasion on which the Crown Jewels were in danger. Certain doors adjacent to the Treasury once bore fragments of human skin. Tradition refers them to some Danish church-robber; but why? Much more likely that here were portions of Podlicote's hide. Dean Stanley gives the horrid detail that they must have been stripped from "a fair-haired ruddy-complexioned man." I distinctly remember, from my schooldays at Westminster, fingering a tough parchment-like substance under the upper iron cramp on the door in the south wall of the Chapter House passage. The cramp is now tightened down to the wood.

How the Duc d'Alençon lopped a *fleuron*, set with the Black Prince's "ruby," from the crown on King Harry's helmet at Agincourt has already been told. A somewhat similar incident took place at the Battle of Bosworth. When the "usurping boar," Richard III, had fallen in the fight, the Crown from his helmet was found in a hawthorn bush, and set on the brows of the conquering Tudor. The story is too well known to be expatiated upon; and mediæval instances of pawning crowns can be passed over in favour of incidents of greater dramatic value.

CHAPTER XXII

Crown Jewels in Danger (ii)

AS a matter of fact, the Regalia's most dangerous year was 1649, for then it was that most of it perished. I have already told how then the Parliament inventoried the contents of the Jewel House at Westminster, where the Crown Jewels were then lodged. They entered five Crowns: the Imperial, Queen's, a "Small Crowne found in an Iron Chest" which has been thought to be Edward VI's, and the crowns called "Queen Ediths" and "King Alfreds." Sceptres, staves, and a number of ornaments and robes were catalogued. As has already been noted, the grand total of values worked out at £612 17s. 8½d.

Before the inventory was taken, a repulsive scene ensued. Henry Marten, who was entrusted with an inspection in 1643, opened the "great Iron chest" in which the Regalia lay, and George Wither, or Withers, the poet, was invested with them. "Who [says Wood] being crown'd and royally array'd . . . did first march about the Room with a stately Garb, and afterwards with a thousand apish and ridiculous Actions exposed those sacred Ornaments to contempt and laughter."

This vile indecency may not have been due to, but in some sense was connived at by, Sir Henry Mildmay, who, as Keeper of the Jewel Houses, cannot escape responsibility for the destruction which followed. He, as I regret to confess, had married the granddaughter of a namesake of mine. Mildmay never lived down the disgust which was felt in responsible quarters at his share in this rape of the Regalia. The Earl of Pembroke, who named him the "knaves of

diamonds," willed £50 to a footman who had once thrashed him.

Undoubtedly much of the ancient Regalia was broken up at this time. All that are known to have survived are the Black Prince's "Ruby," the Spoon, the Ampul, and, dubiously, the sapphire supposed to have been set in the Confessor's cramp-ring. To these must naturally be added the Coronation Chair and Stone of Scone, with the State Sword and Shield preserved alongside them in Westminster Abbey. As these items have all been dealt with in previous chapters, further discussion of them is unnecessary.

But mention may be made again here of the question whether "King Alfreds"—properly the original St. Edward's Crown—may not have survived. It is at least certain that every piece of the old Regalia was not "broken and defaced" by the notorious order of Parliament. Beard, in his *Treasure Trove*, plays with the notion though not on the same lines as fancifully suggested in Chapter VIII. One likes to believe that in 1649 there was someone with enough public spirit to save this ancient talismanic Crown from the melting-pot. Such actually happened in the case of Hubert le Sueur's statue of Charles I at Charing Cross, which was bought by Rivett, nominally for melting—and still survives. But, so far, "King Alfreds Crown" has but reappeared in fiction.

When writing the story of *The Musgrave Ritual*, the late Sir Arthur Conan Doyle told how Sherlock Holmes solved the mystery of the catechism which had descended in an old royalist family from time out of mind.

Crown Jewels in Danger

" 'Whose was it?
" 'His who is gone.
" 'Who shall have it?
" 'He who will come. . . .'"

Charles I who was gone, Charles II to come; and in a linen bag, "a mass of old rusted and discoloured metal and several dull-coloured pieces of pebble or glass," which had "once encircled the brows of the Royal Stuarts."

At the Restoration the Regalia had to be mainly new fashioned, though some attempt was made to preserve the traditional form of the Ornaments. But in roughly a decade a new danger beset the Crown Jewels. This was Colonel Blood's dastardly attempt at thieving, which took place on the morning of May 9, 1671.

Thomas Blood (whose name has a deadly appropriateness) was an Irish soldier of fortune. During the Civil Wars he fought for the Parliament, for which his estates were forfeited at the Restoration. In 1663 he was involved in a plot to seize Dublin Castle and murder the Duke of Ormonde, who was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

This incident failed, but Blood (whose devil's luck was aided by natural resource) contrived to escape.

In 1670 he again "laid" for Ormonde, this time in London, at the top of St. James's Street. Blood, with his son, Thomas Hunt his son-in-law, and three other ruffians, including an Irishman of enormous physique, were to waylay the Duke's coach. Ormonde was then to be pulled out, strapped to the Irish giant and ridden to Tyburn Tree, where Blood was to hang him with his own hands.

By such means would Blood wipe out Ormonde's personal affront of setting a price on his head, and thus forcing him to leave Ireland.

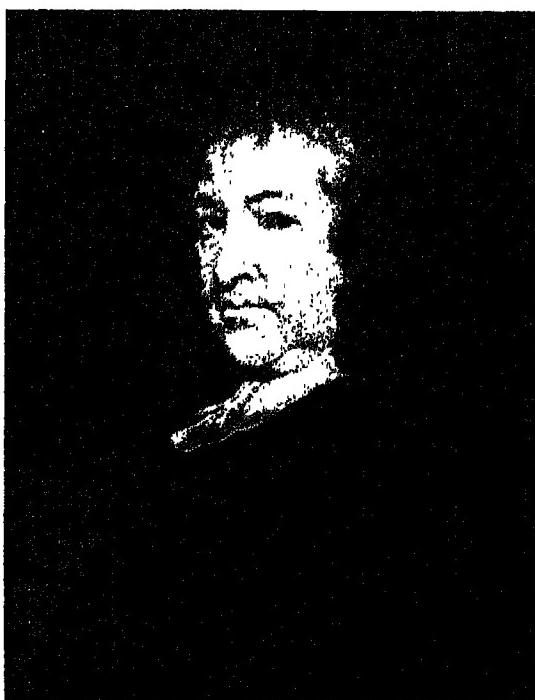
Up to a point the plan worked. But the Duke, who was game, contrived to dismount his warder, and while they were floundering about in the mire, rescue timely arrived.

Of such calibre was Blood, the desperate, unprincipled, cunning and resolute rogue, who, a few months later, essayed to steal the

Crown Jewels, by this time housed in the Martin Tower.

About three weeks before the attempted theft, a visitor arrived at the Tower of London wishing to see the Regalia. This individual, dressed as a parson, was accompanied by a woman supposed to be his wife.

Talbot Edwards, the elderly Deputy-Keeper, showed them the jewels, and when the "lady" gave signs of illness, hospitably



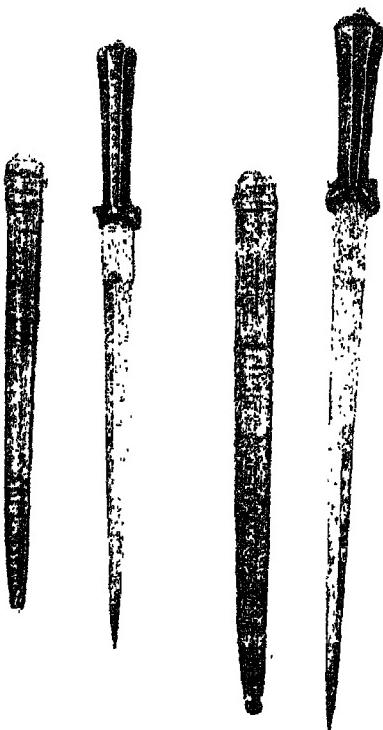
National Portrait Gallery, London.
Colonel Thomas Blood—aptly described as a "famous ruffian"—whose determined attempt to steal the Crown Jewels in 1671 was nearly successful.
(From the painting by Gerard Soest.)

called his wife with some spirits. Mrs. Edwards invited the visitors into her house, where, after an interval, the "parson's wife" professed herself better.

Some few days later the "parson" (need I say it was Blood) paid a courtesy visit to thank the Edwards' for their assistance. He brought with him a gift of four or five pairs of gloves, which his "wife" had sent for Mrs. Edwards.

The acquaintance ripened, and in due

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By permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.
Daggers said to have been carried by Blood and Parrot in their raid on the Crown Jewels. The sheaths are of leather and the longer knife is dated 1620 on the blade—the weapons were already old-fashioned at the time of the attempt.

(Courtesy of the Master of the Tower Armouries and the Secretary of the Royal Literary Fund.)

course the "parson" suggested that the families might be linked in marriage.

"You have a pretty young gentlewoman for your daughter," said Blood, "and I have a young nephew, who has two or three hundred a year in land, and is at my disposal. If your daughter be free, and you approve it, I will bring him here to see her, and we will endeavour to make it a match."

Blood had a plausible way with him, and Edwards readily agreed. That same day his "parson" friend dined with him, saying grace with the utmost unctuousness, and following it up with a prayer for the King, Queen and Royal Family.

Dinner concluded, Blood expressed a wish

to see the rooms. Noticing a handsome case of pistols, he offered to buy them as a present for a young nobleman who was his neighbour. It need scarcely be added that this was an attempt to disarm the Deputy-Keeper's house.

When Blood took his leave he arranged an appointment for the introduction of his putative nephew to Edwards' daughter.

About 7 o'clock on the morning of May 9, 1671, Edwards was ready to receive his visitors. His daughter had donned her best dress for the same purpose. The visitors duly arrived. There was Blood himself and three more. These were the "inside men"; on the "outside" there was at all events one other fellow concerned with looking after the horses and aiding the "getaway,"*

Besides Blood, this galaxy of knaves included his son-in-law (Hunt), a dyer of Thames Street called Parrot or Perrott, and Richard Hallowell, or Holloway, a villain who, from his allotted task of breaking up the sceptre, was afterwards known as "The Filer."

The "inside men," at any rate, were "all armed with rapier-blades in their canes, and every one a dagger,† and a brace of pocket pistols."

Two of these perambulating arsenals went into Edwards' house with Blood, while the fourth man stayed at the door. His ostensible rôle was that of the shy and considerate lover, though actually he had to keep watch. The daughter sent her maid down to look at him, and bring back a description of her future "intended."

Meanwhile Blood had told Talbot Edwards that he would not presume to go upstairs till his wife came. To while away the time, he suggested that Edwards should

* Slight discrepancies of detail occur in the various accounts of the crime. I confine my rendering as nearly as possible to general issues.

† Two daggers described as those carried by Blood on this occasion were bequeathed to the Royal Literary Fund by Thomas Newton in 1807, and have been lent to the Tower of London armouries.

Crown Jewels in Danger

show the Crown Jewels to him and his friends.

Edwards assented and took them into the Jewel Room.

When they were inside, Edwards turned to lock the door behind them: the correct procedure at that date.

Immediately a cloak was thrown over the old fellow's head; a gag thrust into his mouth, and an iron hook in his nostrils. Nevertheless he pluckily put up some sort of resistance.

To quieten him they stabbed him deeply in the body, and battered his head with a mallet.

Leaving Edwards for dead, the criminals laid hands on the Jewels.

Parrot then stuffed the Orb into his loose-fitting breeches, while Blood flattened the Crown Imperial and thrust it under his cassock, and "The Filer" made ready to break the Sceptre in bits, to render it more easily portable.

At this very moment Edwards' son, who had been in Flanders with Sir John Talbot, arrived to visit his father. He was met by the "bridegroom" on watch, who asked him his business. Young Edwards replied that he belonged to the house and, seeing that the man was a stranger, told him that if he had any business with his father, he would acquaint him with it. He then hastened upstairs, whereupon the conspirators immediately decided to decamp.

Leaving the Sceptre unfiled, they rushed off with the Crown and Orb; while Edwards, plucky old fellow! managed to shift the gag and bawl out "Treason!" and "Murder!"

His cries were heard by his daughter, who promptly raised the alarm.

"The Crown! The Crown is stolen!" she shrieked.

The alarm became general. Further shouts of "Treason!" and "Stop them!" were heard. Young Edwards and his brother-in-law, Captain Beckman, joined in the chase. A warder threw himself in Blood's way, but prudently cast himself to the ground when the "parson" discharged a pistol at him.

At the next post stood one Sill, who had been a soldier under Cromwell. He offered no opposition.

The dangerous gang pealed across the drawbridge, and along Tower Wharf to where their horses were waiting at St. Catherine's Gate. To mislead their pursuers they themselves shouted out, "Stop the rogues!"—a hoary device of the hunted criminal.

In the confusion, Beckman had narrowly escaped being shot by the soldiers, while young Edwards had nearly stabbed somebody else. Beckman held to the chase and overtook Blood, who discharged a pistol at his head. It missed him, and the next moment Beckman and Blood were at grips.

The Crown Imperial fell flop in the mud.



Colonel Blood's abortive attempt to steal the Crown Jewels, then housed in the Martin Tower of the Tower of London, on May 9, 1671.

(From an 18th-century engraving by Simpson.)

Coronation Cavalcade

There was a "robustious struggle" for it. Then Blood was seized and taken back to the Tower as a prisoner. So was Parrot with the Orb, and the great balas from the Crown in his pocket. Blood's son-in-law, Hunt, and two other felons rode off, but he was stopped within a couple of hours and made prisoner.

Blood remarked:

"It was a gallant attempt, however unsuccessful; it was for a crown!"

Somebody picked up the Crown from the mire; various stones, including the great pearl, had dropped out of it. Some of them were recovered; others were not. One large diamond was found by an apprentice; a street sweeper recovered the pearl. There were others as honest as these.

When the news was brought to Charles II, that amiable monarch sent for Blood and Parrot—the ringleaders—to be interrogated before him. His interview with Blood and its subsequent result have the elements of a prime historical mystery.

Blood made no bones about his share in the crime. He went further, admitted not only his complicity in the plot to hang Ormonde, but also that he had been concerned in a plan to put to death the King's Majesty.

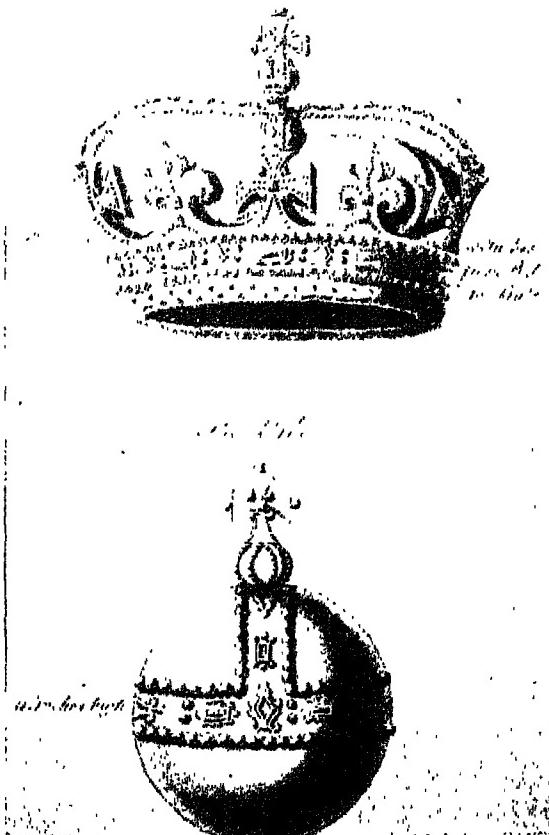
He had lain (so he said) with a loaded carbine in the reeds of Chelsea Reach, where Charles was wont to go bathing. But the spectacle of Majesty (in the nude!) was too

much for him. His evil intentions were vanquished. So complete was his conversion that he dissuaded his fellow conspirators from proceeding with the plot.

And here Blood dropped a hint as heavy as a cartload of bricks. There were yet at large scores of desperate men who had sworn

an oath to slay any person who brought so much as one of them to the end that he warranted. Blood feared, in short, for the health of the King, should justice be given her sway in the matter. Clemency and the soft answer which turneth away wrath were the course which Blood tactfully urged.

This was all very well, but when Blood, Parrot and Hunt were pardoned, and Blood came into possession of a livelihood (worth £500 a year) into the bargain, gossip could not be avoided. A scandalous rumour arose that blackmail had been at work; that some highly placed person or persons would have been glad if the theft of the



King Charles II's State Crown and Orb which were actually in the possession of Blood and Parrot when they were captured after their attempt to steal the Crown Jewels.

(From an engraving in Sir Edward Walker's "Preparations," as published in 1820.)

Crown Jewels had not been timely cut short. That is as may be. But when poor old Edwards and his son were to receive Exchequer grants of £200 and £100 apiece, payment was delayed until they were fain to dispose of their rights for half the amounts in spot cash. Considering the perennially bankrupt state of the Exchequer at the time, it may be a mistake to attach a sinister importance to this.

Bravo and spy that he was, Blood had

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influential friends at court. No proper attempt had been made to bring him to book for the attempt to kill Ormonde, while his rape of the Ornaments secured him in a position of favour. We have to content ourselves with the knowledge that fortune did not unswervingly smile on his way. A libel on the Duke of Buckingham cost him an adverse verdict of £10,000 damages. And, in 1680, he died.

As some ballad maker wrote:

*"Thanks, ye kind Fates, for your last
favour shown,—
For stealing Blood, who lately stole the
Crown. . . ."*

Good, however, was to come out of evil. One result of Blood's dastardly scheme was to tighten up the regulations for the safe custody of the Regalia. Yet in 1814 the Queen's Sceptre with the Dove, made for Mary II, which had been missing for some time, was found at the back of a shelf in the Jewel House; and in the following year a woman put her hands through the protecting grille which had been erected, and inflicted some damage on the Crown. (Wm. Jones: *Crowns & Coronations*.)

This was not serious; but in 1841 the Regalia ran a grave risk of destruction. On the night of October 30 a serious fire broke out in the Bowyer Tower, and spread to the old armoury building, founded by James II and completed under William and Mary, which was completely consumed. Relics of this terrible blaze, which destroyed cannon, battle trophies, and 150,000 stand of small arms, are still preserved at the Tower of London. The damage was estimated at £200,000.

For a time the White Tower itself was threatened, while the Jewel House was so dangerously exposed to the flames that hasty steps were taken to rescue the Regalia. That this was achieved was largely due to the resource of Superintendent W. F. Pierse, of the Metropolitan Police, who had "proceeded" with a detachment of constables to the scene of the conflagration. What ensued

is best described in the words of an account in Chambers's *Book of Days*.

"Shortly after his [Pierse's] arrival, the flames made such rapid advances in the direction of the Jewel House, that it was deemed expedient at once to remove the Regalia and crown-jewels to a place of safety. Accompanied by Mr. Swift, the keeper of the Jewel House, and other officials, including several of the Tower warders, Mr. Pierse entered the building in question. To get hold of the jewels was now the difficulty, as these treasures were secured by a strong iron grating, the keys of which were in the possession of the lord chamberlain, or elsewhere deposited at a distance, and not a moment was to be lost. Crow-bars were procured, and a narrow aperture made in the grating so as barely to admit one person. Through this opening Mr. Pierse contrived, with much difficulty, to thrust himself, and hand through from the inside the various articles of the Regalia. One of these, a silver font [Charles II's], was too large thus to be passed, and it consequently became necessary to break away an additional bar of the grating. While the warders were employed in effecting this, repeated cries were heard from outside, calling to the party within the Jewel House to leave the building as the fire was close upon them. Determined, however, to accomplish the behest which he had undertaken, Mr. Pierse unflinchingly retained his post within the grating, and at last succeeded in rescuing the font. The precious articles were all conveyed safely to the governor's house, and a most extraordinary spectacle presented itself in the warders carrying the crowns and other appurtenances of royalty between groups of soldiers, policemen and firemen.

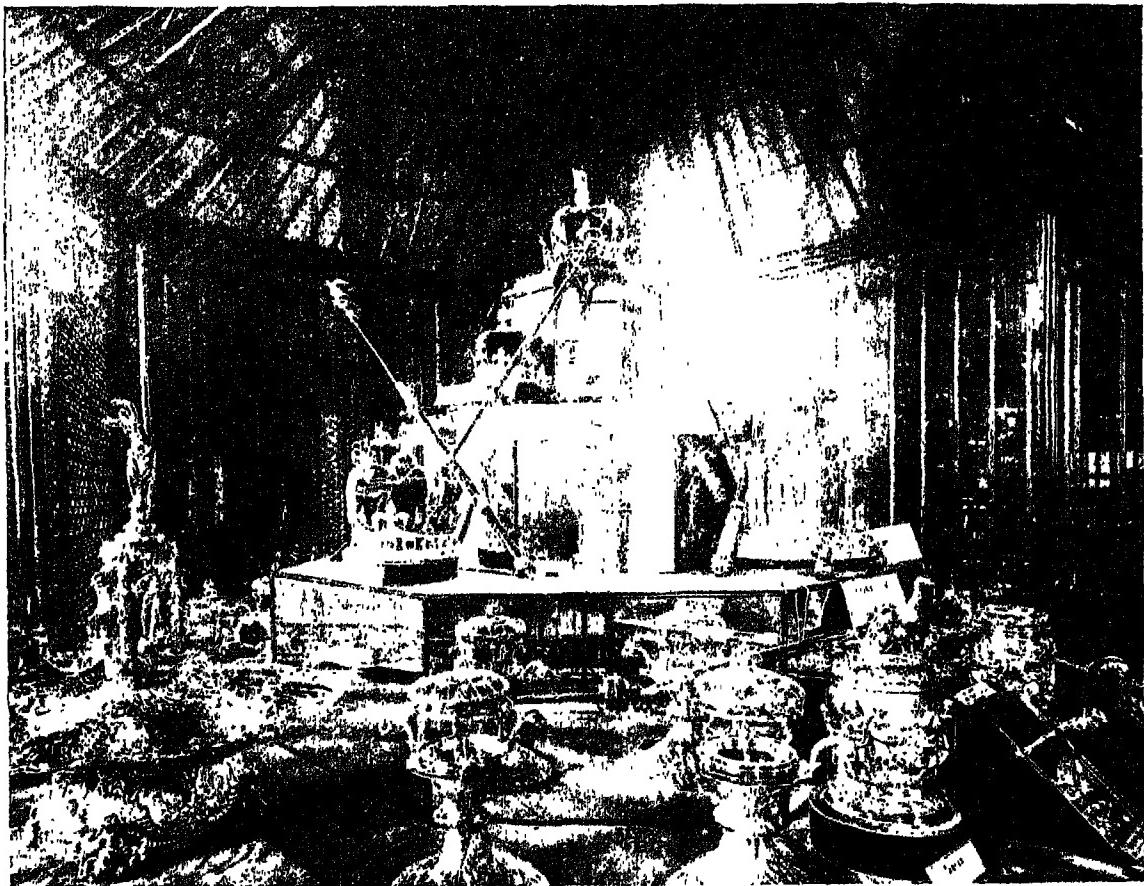
"The heat endured by the party in the Jewel House was such as almost to reduce their garments to a charred state."

Since that momentous occasion, no outstanding danger has threatened the Regalia, special precautions for the safety of which were taken during the Great War of

Coronation Cavalcade

1914-18. The nearest approach to a disaster occurred at King George V's funeral procession in January, 1936, when the Cross fell from the top of the State Crown on the coffin, and was rescued by an officer of the entourage. Many people felt at the time that the incident was a fitting symbol of

Another instance of somewhat similar presage had happened before Charles I's Coronation. This event was marked by various unlucky omens, not the least being that the left wing of the dove on the Sceptre was broken off. The King ordered the damage to be made good, but as this could



The Regalia—which are now housed in the Wakefield Tower of the Tower of London—rest within a massive iron grille with complex protective devices. St. Edward's Crown is here seen to the left of Queen Elizabeth's Salt (centre) and the State Crown at the top of the pyramidal shelving.

the passing of a greatly beloved Christian monarch. It was as though the Crown itself mourned.

Possibly the most nearly similar case was when the great diamond dropped out of the upper part of the then State Crown while it was on the King's head at George III's Coronation. This was thought to be ominous, and when the American Colonies were lost to us the incident was recalled.

not be done without leaving some trace, Acton, the goldsmith, got another dove of gold to be artificially set on"; whereat "his Majesty was well contented, as making no discovery thereof." But, later, folk saw in this affair a presage of the Civil Wars which were to cost the "White King" his head. Moreover, when Charles attended his illegal trial, the silver top of his staff was seen to fall to the ground.

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I am not quite so blockheaded as to be altogether unmoved by omens, and I feel that the fall of the Cross from the State Crown at King George V's obsequies was a most sadly prophetic affair. Without being skilled in divination, I am disposed to interpret its symbolical significance (if any) as having been already fulfilled.

Never have the Regalia been more zealously guarded than at to-day. As viewed in the cage in the Wakefield Tower—in the vaulted chamber where, by repute, King Henry VI met his death—they are protected with much greater vigilance than even the massy surroundings suggest. It is safe to say that any enterprising crook, bold enough to emulate Blood, would probably get the surprise of his life.

Edgar Wallace, that indefatigable provider of fiction, once wrote a novel based on the idea of a modern attempt on the Jewels. This was readable enough, but the conception of drugging Guardsmen on duty by means of doped chocolate creams failed—to me—to carry conviction!

The Regalia are closely invested, but there are occasions (as everyone knows) when the best protection is the sheerest simplicity. In narrating the following anecdote, I must make it clear that I can in nowise vouch for its truth. Tales never suffer in the telling,

but I set down as simply as possible what I have heard.

Briefly: a celebrated Royal Academician, since dead, was painting a portrait of King Edward VII. The Crown Imperial appeared in the picture, and, by a special concession, was permitted to be lodged in the artist's house, where, needless to say, every precaution was taken for its safety.

The Crown arrived under proper escort, and the artist enjoyed the considerable privilege of painting directly from it in his own studio.

When the time of its sojourn expired, a duly authorized official arrived and packed up the Crown. To all outward appearance it was nothing more than an ordinary parcel done up in brown paper.

When the official took his leave, the artist enquired whether a conveyance was waiting. The answer was No! The journey would be made by omnibus!

Now that sounds too good to be true; I can only repeat what I was told, adding that the narrator was a man of much substance. Anyhow, the tale is a good one.

Don't forget this. If it were necessary to remove something very valuable, without attracting attention to the manœuvre, no less conspicuous method could be devised. And with that I leave it.

CHAPTER XXIII

The Honours of Scotland

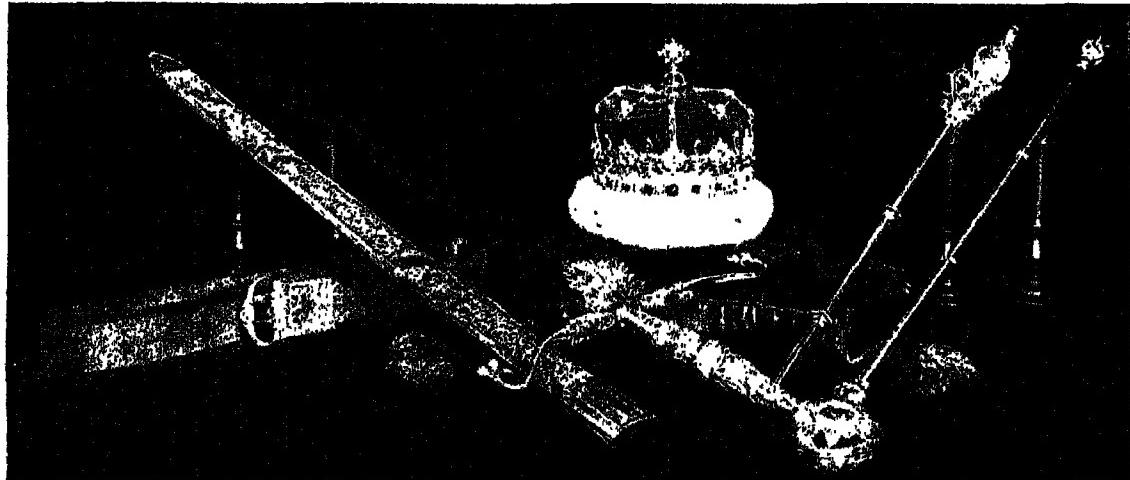
IF the Crown Jewels of Britain have known their perilous moments, no less can be said of the Scottish Regalia, or, to give them their time-hallowed title, the Honours of Scotland.

Though considerably less commanding than the former in both numbers and intrinsic value, the (existing) Honours of Scotland possess an extraordinary interest. They have, moreover, one decided advantage. Whereas the Regalia of England—or of Great Britain, if so preferred—were largely destroyed at the time of the Commonwealth, the Scottish were preserved through those same troublous times. That this happy preservation was achieved was entirely due to the self-sacrificing zeal of a handful of patriots. Their story forms one of the noblest in the annals of these realms.

Before embarking on this, I must needs be clear on one detail. Whereas much of the Regalia of Britain is, in a wider sense, that of the Empire, the Honours of Scotland

are those of the Kingdom of Scotland alone. This fact invests their possession with a highly important significance.

When “Edward Longshanks” removed



Photos: F. Card Ingh, Edinburgh.

The Honours of Scotland at Edinburgh Castle: the Sword of State with Its Scabbard and Belt, the Crown, the Sceptre and (extreme right) the Lord High Treasurer's Mace. Known as the “Crown of Bruce,” the Crown of Scotland (top) was actually made in the sixteenth century.

The Honours of Scotland

the Stone of Destiny to England in 1296, there went with it the ancient Scottish regal Ornaments. Later, the gold circle used for crowning Robert the Bruce in 1306 also fell into English hands; and though the existing Crown of Scotland is known by his name, it does not antedate the time of James IV, who fell with the "Flowers of the Forest" at Flodden, in 1513. Indeed, evidence was adduced in Skelton and St. John Hope's *The Royal House of Stuart* to show that the Crown was entirely reconstructed in 1539-40, when James V was King.

The Honours of Scotland consist of these: The Great Crown as mentioned, the Sceptre, and the Sword of State with its Scabbard. Five feet in length, with elaborate, branching *quillons* of later date, the Sword was sent to James IV by Pope Julius II in 1507, and bears that pontiff's name on the blade.

In form, a gemmed diadem topped by alternating *fleurs-de-lys* and *crosses flory*, so ornate as to look more like rosettes, the Crown has four depressed arches surmounted by a monde and Cross. According to *The Royal House of Stuart*, the Sceptre was remade in 1536. It is surmounted by figures of the Blessed Virgin, and SS. Andrew and James.

On January 1, 1651, King Charles II was inaugurated as King of Scotland at Scone. Purely a civil process, the ceremony was performed by the Marquess of Argyll.

Smarting under their defeat at the "Race of Dunbar" in the previous year, and the loss of the southern part of their kingdom, the Scots desperately resolved to invade England where they hoped to be joined by the royalist supporters of the "Black Boy." But on September 3, 1651, Cromwell won his "crowning mercy" at Worcester, the invaders were hopelessly routed, and Charles fled in disguise to the coast, by way of the Boscobel Oak: to which sacred tree the acorns and oak leaves on the arches of the modern State Crown of Great Britain are supposed to allude.

A speech made by R. Charles I. 2d. this Coronation (January 1, 1651). I will by god's grace reign by me or by my son for your defence & safety to live no longer than that I may see this Kinge done flourish in happiness.



The Oath, I do promise to kee in my presence of my eternall soule y' I will mainaine & true Kirk of god religion & right preaching & administration of Sacrements now received & practised within this Realme in purity & shall abolish & quench land all schismaticke & hereticall contyners of same. And I will rule & govern my realme according to the will of god and lawfull laws & constitutions of my Realme; and my justice & equity to be ministered without partiality.

The civil crowning of King Charles II as King of Scotland at Scone, on January 1, 1651, ten years before his coronation as King of England in Westminster Abbey. He is seen wearing the typical spurred "bucket" boots of the period.

Meanwhile, in the previous June of 1651, the Honours of Scotland had been sent for safe keeping to Dunnottar Castle, on the Kincardineshire coast, which was in due course besieged by a Parliamentarian army. On May 24, 1652, George Ogilvie the Governor was forced to capitulate, it then being arranged that the Honours should be handed over to the Parliamentarian leader. It goes without saying that the Parliament, which had already effected the destruction or dispersal of the English Regalia, attached great importance to securing these mystical emblems of Scottish independence, which would, no doubt, have been as speedily broken up.

Here, however, a hitch occurred. The Honours of Scotland were not to be found in Dunnottar. Nor did the severities inflicted upon Ogilvie and his wife elicit any information as to their whereabouts.

Coronation Cavalcade

Suspicion then shifted to James Grainger (or Granger), minister of Kinneff, and his wife, who were closely examined, and if tradition says sooth, were put to the boot. This unpleasant process consisted in the

Francc. The Countess Marischal said so; furthermore, in 1654, one of her sons, Sir John Keith (afterwards Earl of Kintore) confirmed the report at no small risk to himself by stating that he had personally removed the Honours from Dunnottar to Paris, towards the end of 1652.

In view of this evidence and the complete absence of the Honours themselves, the Parliament gave up the search.

But when Royalty was restored in 1660, the Honours reappeared—at Dunnottar, or rather at the neighbouring parish of Kinneff, where they had been all the while.

They had been got out of Dunnottar under the very noses of the Parliamentarians—and by a parcel of women!

One day, Christian Fletcher, James Grainger's wife, paid a visit to Mrs. Ogilvie, by permission of the Roundhead commander. She was followed by her maid with a sack of hards, or bundles of lint, which she had just bought in the town of Stonehaven.

The thing must have been convincingly done, or else the English authorities were extraordinarily lax. They knew no more than Ogilvie himself (who was kept in ignorance of the stratagem) that, when the visitors left, the Crown was hidden in the lap of Grainger's wife's skirts, while the Sceptre and the doubled-up Scabbard of the Sword were concealed

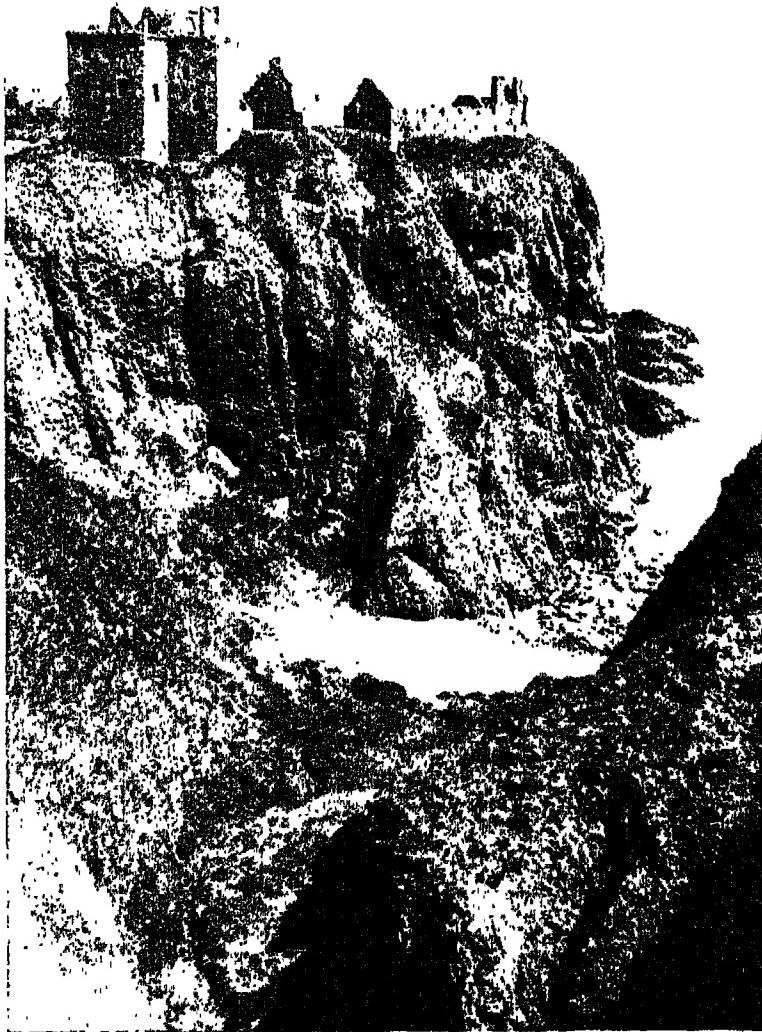


Photo: W. F. Taylor.

Dunnottar Castle, on the rocky Kincardineshire coast, whence the Honours of Scotland were gallantly saved from a Parliamentarian army in 1652.

crushing of one or both feet and legs in a boot-like device, which generally exercised a quickening effect on the tongue. But the Graingers had nothing to say.

Thereafter it became known that the Honours had been transferred in safety to

in the sack of hards borne by her maid. Presumably it was at this time that the sword-belt was parted from the scabbard, and remained in the hands of the Ogilvie (or Ogilvy) family, until restored to the Honours by the Rev. Samuel Ogilvy Baker, in 1893.

The Honours of Scotland

There was an awkward moment at Dunnottar when the minister's wife was helped on to her horse by the victorious commander himself. But it passed; and the Honours reached the manse at Kinneff, where they were temporarily placed in the bed of the Graingers.

According to one account, the State Sword was also carried out in the sack of hards, but, as Beard reasonably remarks, in *The Romance of Treasure Trove*, this seems impossible. There is an alternative tale that the Honours were saved by being lowered from the Castle to the beach where Mrs. Grainger's maid was gathering dulse. Beard's suggestion that this particular story refers to the Sword, which is far too big to have been hidden in a sack, may well be correct.

Anyhow, the scene now shifted to the kirk of Kinneff, where the Honours were buried by Grainger under various portions of the floor of the building. There they remained until 1660, being periodically inspected by the Graingers and rewapped in linen for their better preservation.

Thereafter no mystery attached to the Honours until the Parliamentary Union of England and Scotland in 1707. By the same Act of Union, it was provided that the Honours should never leave Scotland. Accordingly, on March 26 in that year, they were strongly secured in the Crown Room of Edinburgh Castle. Their receptacle was a ponderous chest with three locks; the windows and chimney of the room

were protected by gratings; and the two doors, one of iron, were heavily bolted and barred.

Despite these precautions, a rumour eventually spread that the Honours were no longer in Scotland. As Scott remarked in a letter to J. B. S. Morritt, dated January 14, 1818: it was generally stated "that the Regalia had been sent to London; and you

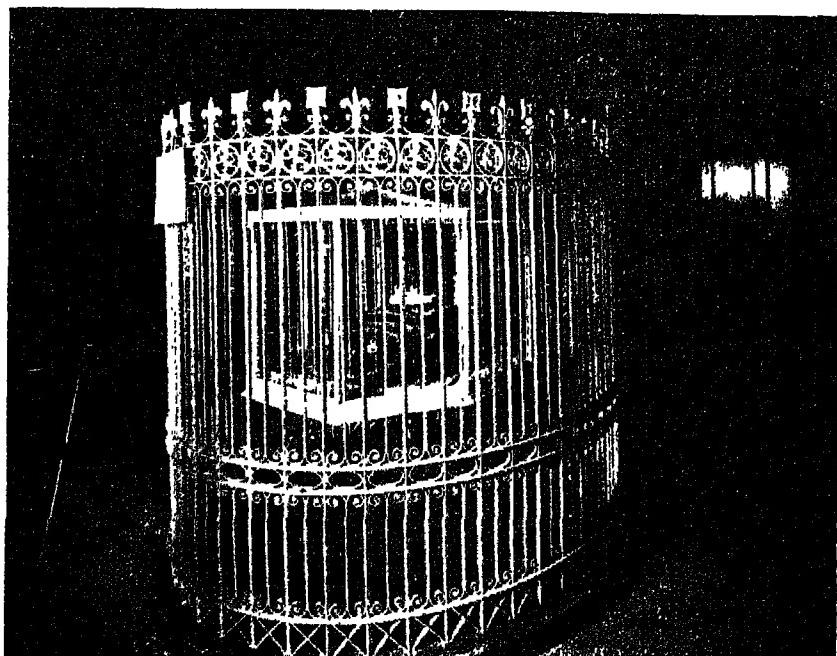


Photo: F. Caird Ingalls, Edinburgh.

The Crown Room at Edinburgh Castle, where the Honours of Scotland were eventually discovered, in 1818, lying in an oaken chest, in which they had been put for safe keeping in 1707. Sir Walter Scott took an active part in their being brought to light.

may remember that we saw at the Jewel Office a crown, *said to be* the ancient Crown of Scotland."

This unsatisfactory position had not been cleared up when the Crown Room at Edinburgh was opened in 1794. There (says Scott) the Commissioners "saw the fatal chest, strewed with the dust of an hundred years, about six inches thick: a coating of like thickness lay on the floor; and I have heard the late President Blair say, that the uniform and level appearance of the dust warranted them to believe that the chest,

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if opened at all after 1707, must have been violated within a short time of that date, since, had it been opened at a later period, the dust accumulated on the lid, and displaced at opening it, must have been lying around the chest. But the Commissioners did not think their warrant entitled them to force this chest, for which no keys could be found; especially as their warrant only entitled them to search for records—not for crowns and sceptres."

On February 4, 1818, thanks in no small degree to Scott's representations to the Prince Regent, a Commission cleared up the "odd mystery [which] hung about the fate of these royal symbols of national independence." Scott himself was a member of the Commission, and as he wrote to his friend Croker, on the following day:

"The extreme solemnity of opening sealed doors of oak and iron, and finally breaking open a chest which had been shut since March 7, 1707, about a hundred and eleven years, gave a sort of interest to our researches, which I can hardly express to you, and it would be very difficult to describe the intense eagerness with which we watched the rising of the lid of the chest, and the progress of the workmen in breaking it open, which was neither an easy nor a speedy task. It sounded very hollow when they worked on it with their tools, and I began to lean to your faction of the Little Faiths."

The moment of weakness passed. When

at length the lid was thrown back, the Honours of Scotland were found lying safely at the bottom of the "mysterious chest," wrapped up in linen. The jade Rumour had lied.

On the 5th, Scott and several of his fellow Commissioners again inspected the Honours, with "some of the ladies of their families." There then happened an incident which shows in what reverence the Regalia were held by all patriotic Scots. As recounted by Lockhart, the following occurred, on the evidence of his wife who was also Scott's daughter. This lady (still Miss Scott at the time of the incident) "tells me that her father's conversation had worked her feelings up to such a pitch, that when the lid was again removed, she nearly fainted, and drew back from the circle. As she was retiring, she was startled by his voice exclaiming, in a tone of the deepest emotion, 'something between anger and despair,' as she expresses it,—'By G— No!' One of the Commissioners, not quite entering into the solemnity with which Scott regarded this business, had, it seems, made a sort of motion as if he meant to put the crown on the head of one of the young ladies near him, but the voice and aspect of the Poet were more than sufficient to make the worthy gentleman understand his

error; and respecting the enthusiasm with which he had not been taught to sympathize, he laid down the ancient diadem



As descendant from the Royal Stewarts, through whom it derives its lineal claim to the Throne of Britain, our Reigning House preserves its regal and family associations with the Northern Kingdom. King Edward VIII, wearing Balmoral tartan, is here seen on a visit to Scotland in September, 1936.

The Honours of Scotland

with an air of painful embarrassment. Scott whispered ‘pray, forgive me’; and turning round at the moment, observed his daughter deadly pale, and leaning by the door. He immediately drew her out of the room, and when the air had somewhat recovered her, walked with her across the Mound to Castle Street. ‘He never spoke all the way home,’ she says, ‘but every now and then I felt his arm tremble; and from that time I fancied he began to treat me more like a woman than a child. I thought he liked me better, too, than he had ever done before.’”

When George IV visited Scotland in 1822, the Honours were submitted to him at Holyrood, and borne before him in the procession thence through “Auld Reekie.”

Besides the prime ornaments—Crown, Sceptre, and Sword—there are also placed with the Scottish Regalia the Lord Treasurer’s Rod of Office, and four jewels relating to the Royal Stewarts. These last were happily restored to Britain after Cardinal

York’s death and deposited with the Honours by William IV, in 1830. They are the Collar of the Garter bestowed on James VI by Elizabeth; the George given by Charles I to Bishop Juxon on the scaffold, with the tragic “Remember!”; the Coronation Ring which the same Charles donned at Holyrood; and a St. Andrew (Badge of the Thistle), containing a miniature portrait of Louise of Stolberg-Gedern, consort of Bonnie Prince Charlie.

A good many people believe that Cardinal York—James II’s last grandson—bequeathed the Crown of England to his kinsman, King George III, whose pensioner he was. As Alice Shield has convincingly shown, this is incorrect, entirely apart from the fact that the Crown was not his to bequeath. Says she in her excellent life of the Cardinal: “The fact was that . . . his executor, the Bishop of Milevi,” in 1807, sent “as remembrances” to the Prince-Regent, the Ring and St. Andrew, whereas the George and the other Ornaments concerned were bequeathed to King George III.

CHAPTER XXIV

The Edwards of England

KING EDWARD VIII is the eleventh King Edward of England. That looks like a contradiction in terms, but is none the less true. The reckoning is made from Edward "Longshanks"—Edward I, who brought the Stone of Destiny south; but before Longshanks' time there were three Kings Edward, all of the House of Cerdic. These Saxon monarchs are left out of the reckoning: a detail regretted by some. But to alter the numbering now would be to falsify the recorded history of England. He who is now Duke of Windsor must go down in the annals as Edward VIII, though he was really Edward XI.

Taken in all, the Edwards of England number some of the greatest of our monarchs—and some of the least. But the name is one of high honour, and as such is worthily borne. Out of love for her consort, Queen Victoria planned to found a dynasty of Alberts. If you glance at a list of her male descendants, you will note how many of them are so named. But *Albert* Edward, Prince of Wales, elected to succeed her as Edward VII; George Frederick Ernest *Albert*, his (second) son, became George V; and Edward *Albert* Christian George Andrew Patrick David, Edward VIII of that name. *Albert*, Frederick Arthur George, as we know very well, was to be King George VI

on ascending the Throne. Of His Majesty, and of the Georges of England, more anon.

Now Albert—the anglicized form of Albrecht—is a name of honour and ancienry. But for practical purposes its association with Britain dates from Queen Victoria's marriage. With the birth of her eldest son Albert Edward, in 1841, it began to be popular here. Such of our numerous "Berts" as are baptismally Alberts (not Herborts or Gilberts), and are of pure British stock, need not look back further than then for the rise of the name in their families.

Edward, on the other hand, is an old English name with a pedigree back to the Anglo-Saxons. Its spelling has varied a little; in Saxon times "Eadward" must be expected, though that is a detail. The name is always the same.

It was a fortunate omen that our first King Edward should have been a leader of outstanding moment. In his father's, King Alfred's time, he had proved his capacity by routing the Viking invaders at Farnham.

In 900 Alfred died and was buried at Winchester, and Edward was elected king in his stead by the Witan. There was opposition from his kinsman, Ethelwald, who received support from the Danes; but the rising was terribly damaged by Edward, though his own side sustained severe loss



Courtesy of the British Museum.
Revealing the lingering influence of late Roman Imperial coinages, such formalized heads as these of Saxon kings must serve us now in lack of portraits. Here are silver pennies of Edward the Elder and Edward the Martyr.

The Edwards of England

in the process. In that wild slaughter fell Ethelwald and his ally Eric, King of East Anglia; and in the following year Edward concluded a treaty with the Danes at Yttingaford (903).*

There was quiet until 910, when the Danes broke the peace. They were raiders by nature, and owed to it their supremacy over a large part of England. Edward—he is known as Edward the Elder—was a skilled general, and took steps to avenge the aggression. He collected a fleet of somewhere about a hundred ships, and the Danes got the idea that the bulk of his forces was in them. Suddenly, in the midst of their ravaging, the Danes were unexpectedly confronted by Edward himself near Wednesfield, and were thoroughly routed. This enabled Edward to carry the war into the enemy's country, and in 911 he advanced on the East Anglian part of the Danelaw. The Danes were forced to make terms.

Yet again they burst forth, but after a long struggle were decisively defeated at the Battle of Maldon in 916, after which their subjection was mainly a matter of time. Before Edward died in 924 he had established himself as suzerain of England, having received in addition the adhesion of the Strathclyde Welsh, and the Scots King Constantine III, whose lands had been horribly wasted by the Vikings.

The "Unconquered King," as Florence of Worcester calls Edward the Elder, was no empty title. Moreover, he was not only skilful in war. Had the times been less troublous, he might have been a great leader in peace. Well educated, he showed both qualities of statesmanship and, presumably, a taste for the arts, as his coinage is exceptionally fine for its period.

As the first positive King of all England, Edward the Elder is a figure of commanding importance. Seldom is so great and heroic a leader as Alfred the Great blessed with a son of such calibre.

For the next Edward we must skip half a century. In 975 there came to the throne a boy of thirteen, who was elected and

crowned at Kingston-on-Thames. This was the Elder's great-grandson, Edward the Martyr, whose reign was both short and disturbed. Nothing about it concerns us save the manner of his death, which took place at Corfe in 978.

Accounts of the murder are discrepant, but it seems clear that the blame must rest on his stepmother. When the previous King, Edgar, passed away, his widow Queen Elfrida (Elfthryth) wanted the crown for her son. But Edgar, by a previous marriage, had begotten Edward the Martyr, and the Witan declared in his favour. For one thing, Edward was nearer to manhood.

Elfrida nursed her grievance.

On March 14, 978, King Edward visited Corfe, where Elfrida and her son were in residence. As the King sat on his horse at the gate—long since rebuilt—he was handed a drink horn.

One fellow caught hold of his disengaged hand and gave it a Judas-like kiss.

At that moment another scurril knave stabbed the King from behind.

The horse bounded forward; the dying King lost his seat and was dragged by the stirrup.

That is one version of the tale. Another would have us believe that Elfrida herself gave the drink to the King, and stabbed him while he was quaffing it. In either event, this devil of a woman was at the bottom of the business.

Edward's body was picked up and hastily buried at Wareham. But there were plenty of sympathizers, and rumours were afoot that the dead King's body was holy. It was exhumed, incorrupt, and translated to Shaftesbury, whence miracles were reported from the tomb of the Martyr.

For so the manner of his death caused him to be styled. In life, he was a hot-headed lad, who laid hands in anger on his

* For fuller accounts of these matters, readers are referred to Sir Charles Oman's scholarly *England Before the Norman Conquest*, to which I am indebted for the correct interpretation of some of the facts in this chapter.

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servants. But the manners of those days were different from ours. Edward seems to have been popular, and the treachery which slew him was repugnant to the honest Saxon mentality. The young King had been killed at his drink—!

All the same, no attempt was preferred to bring his murderers to justice. Such tardy amends as were made were paid to his bones.

In less than twenty-five years he was officially known as a Martyr.

He was followed on the throne by his brother, Ethelred the Redeless, one of whose sons was the third of our Edwards. This was the since, sainted Edward the Confessor, the last of the blood male of the House of Cerdic to occupy the throne of England.

Despite his paternal ancestry the Confessor was in all other respects a Norman. His mother, Emma, was the daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy, and when Sweyn Forkbeard ravaged the country, he was sent after her to that duchy for safety. Harthacnut, his half-brother—for Emma had remarried Cnut—brought Edward back to England; and when the unprincipled Harthacnut dropped dead at a marriage feast in 1042, it was Edward who was chosen to succeed him. He had been in exile since boyhood, and his age was thirty-seven.

Edward was of middle stature, both handsome and well built. In his later life the contrast of his plump, rubicund features and snow-white hair and beard was very striking. It has even been suggested that he was an albino. He was crowned at Winchester at Easter, 1043, and among the events of his reign was an invasion of Scotland of rather unusual interest. This was directed against that same Macbeth, who

has received immortality through Shakespeare's superb, if unhistorical, tragedy. Earl Siward, the exiled Malcolm's kinsman, certainly defeated the "abhorred tyrant" at Dunsinane, but Macbeth (who seems to have been rather an estimable person for his period) was not killed in battle until 1057—three years afterwards.

The Confessor's reign, with its story of the rise of the Godwin faction which brought Harold to the front, is a matter for the history books. Though Edward was married, his abstention from begetting heirs was considered a special mark of saintly character. What principally concerns us at a Coronationtide is his refounding of the church at Westminster, which was hallowed on December 28, 1065—eight days before his death. As we have seen, the Confessor left his Regalia to this Abbey Church, which was papally recognized as the scene of future coronations. Therein Edward was buried, though not in the shrine where his body now lies, that being part of Henry III's improvements. It was finished in 1268; but certain rearrangements were effected to it under Abbot Feckenham in the 16th century, when the wooden superstructure was fashioned.

Henry III held the Confessor's memory in the deepest reverence. He was not alone in this, as a glance at the celebrated Wilton Diptych in the National Gallery will show us. This beautiful little 14th-century painting, bought for the nation for £90,000—and well worth it!—contains a figure of Richard II kneeling in the presence of The Holy Mother and Child, and of various saints. One of these is the Confessor, holding the Ring, the story of which was given in Chapter X. On the back of one



King Edward the Confessor enthroned in solemn state, and bearing a Sceptre and Orb; he left his Regalia to the Abbey Church of Westminster.
(From the King's Great Seal in the British Museum.)

The Edwards of England

of the valves of the Diptych are painted the arms of England (*ancient*), the premier place on the shield being given, however, to the arms of Edward the Confessor. That Edward never saw these armorial bearings himself; that they were allotted to him long after his death, does not signify. Richard's reverential intention is obvious. No prettier shield exists than the *azure, a cross paty gold, between five golden merlets (or martlets)*, which the mediæval heralds invented for the saint. It has formed the basis of various other coats: including those of the Abbey (as now borne), Westminster School, the City of Westminster, and the Canadian See of New Westminster.

But Richard's ancestor, Henry III, wrought much more than he of such piety. He started re-building the Abbey Church itself, erected a noble shrine for the Confessor and, fullest of compliments, had named his son after him.

Thus it was that, in 1274, more than two centuries after the Confessor's death, another Edward came to his crowning. This was Edward Longshanks, the "Hammer of the Scots," whom we call Edward I. That Edward whose "motto," *Pactum Serva* (Keep Troth), is dimly painted on his tomb. It is with him that the "numbering" of our Edwards commences.

Edward Longshanks and his grandson, Edward III, were two of our mightiest kings. To write about them in much detail were needless. We are apt to judge them by a series of victories, without making allowance for the fine qualities of statesmanship and clear-sightedness which they possessed. Both were essentially strong rulers, and in an age when such were very much needed, they admirably fulfilled their by no means light tasks. Nor must any

words of mine seem to detract from their value as warriors. Soldiers are disciplined men, be they leaders or followers, and in moments of stress the fate of the nation invariably lies in their hands.

In dealing with any of the mediæval kings we can expect to be confronted with this or that incident in their careers which may not appeal. Conceptions of behaviour have altered considerably, and the Middle Ages were haunted by a constant recurrence of ruthlessness which now is repellent to many. Before we condemn it, and congratulate ourselves on our broader, more "civilized" outlook, there is one potent question which should always be asked. Is it a case of being *better*, or *lesser* men, than these giants of the past? In postulating that, I am not decrying the many advancements which have been effected to our life and our thought. Nor yet the fine flower of the Nation and Empire, the worthy inheritors and promoters of fame.

Local nationalists are apt to deplore Edward Longshanks' reduction of Wales in 1282-83, and the conquest of Scotland in 1296. Yet the inevitability of the campaigns is clear to any impartial student of history. That the Welsh campaigns were successful was due to the superior power and discipline of the English; and if the Scots did not appear at their fighting best in 1296, as hostile neighbours they were ever a menace. Now, we live in an age when English and Scots can forgather in amity, with a mutual respect for their sterling qualities of race. Let both look to it that neither transgresses so fair a condition.

From the beginning, the wars between England and Scotland were a ding-dong affair. The Scots would win a Bannockburn,



Photo: W. F. Mansell.
King Edward I—known as Edward Longshanks and the "Hammer of the Scots"—a great warrior and a great King.
(From the King's Great Seal in the British Museum.)

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and the English retort with a Pinkie or Flodden. Bannockburn, where Robert the Bruce re-established the independence of Scotland, took place in the reign of our Edward II. If Longshanks was one of our heroes, his son must be reckoned as one of our failures. But for an elder brother's death, Edward of Carnarvon might never have ascended the throne. In which event we should have reckoned an Alphonso in the tale of our monarchs.

Edward II was our first Prince of Wales, the old Welsh line of Llewellyn having been deposed by Longshanks. Picturesque tales of the youthful presentation of Edward II to the Welsh as their native-born prince are not encountered till some centuries after his death.

Tall and handsome (in a rather weak way) though he was, Edward II cuts a poor figure in history. A compendium of almost every vice that arises from weakness of character, he added to these a trait of enormity which must be glazed over here. Deposed in 1327, he was murdered some eight months later at Berkeley Castle, the revolting form of his death being far too horrible to be described in a book of this nature.

Even so, his misfortunes enveloped him in some shreds and tatters of sanctity. It became rumoured that he had escaped the hot iron, to die as a hermit abroad. Even as the heroic Harold was reputed to have survived as a one-eyed recluse; and St. Joan of Arc to have cheated the flames at Rouen.

With Edward III and his son, Edward the Black Prince, who died before coming to the throne, we reach the great period of the Hundred Years War. To this reign belong the victories of Sluys, Crécy, and Poitiers, and the drubbing of the Scots at Halidon Hill and Neville's Cross. To this reign, also, such various matters as the foundation of that noblest of knightly orders, the Garter, in 1348; the terrible devastation caused by the Black Death in 1348-49; and the passing of the Statute of Labourers (1351), which eventually led to Wat Tyler's rebellion.

Edward II had married Isabella, the "she-wolf of France," daughter of Philip the Fair of that country. On the death of her brother, Charles IV, in 1328, her cousin, Philip of Valois, was appointed to the French throne. This did not suit Isabella, and without



National Portrait Gallery, London.
King Edward II—the first Prince of Wales.
(After the tabaster effigy on his monument in Gloucester Cathedral: sculptor unknown.)

The Edwards of England

claiming the crown for herself, she put forward her son, Edward III, for the title.

Such a form of succession had been practically recognized in England, in so far as Matilda's son, Henry II, had succeeded to Stephen. But the French did not approve it, so Philip of Valois became Philip VI.

Later, when the Hundred Years War was commencing, Edward revived the claim made by his mother on his behalf. It was very convenient in more than one sense. Those of his continental allies who "shied" at opposing the King of France as their feudal lord, could salve their consciences by supporting Edward for the same reason. And as both Edward and the Black Prince were born leaders and most gallant knights, they carried the English prestige to heights which have never been forgotten.

What a contrast is there in the death of Edward III, lying lonely, deserted by his liegemen and robbed of his rings by the woman, Alice Perrers, on whom he relied in his dotage!

After his death in 1377, no Edward ascended the throne for eighty-odd years. Then, in 1461, Edward IV became King in the turmoil of the Wars of the Roses. Elected by clamour in Westminster Hall, in that year he was crowned.

He was a fine, tall fellow, though the long, pallid face of his portraits belies at least part of his looks. In the later scandals

which denied his legitimacy and called him the son of an archer, we need not believe. They were put about by his brother, Richard of Gloucester, who did not hesitate to impugn his mother's honour, to clear a way to the throne for himself. These later "Plantagenets" could be ruthless tyrants, and Edward himself was of that same kidney. Indeed, the path he had taken demanded it.

Though Edward IV did not marry* until three years after his Coronation, it was not through lack of inclination. Various matrimonial overtures had been made, a fact which aided Richard Crookback in his attempts to malign the birth of Edward V. It was asserted that as a previous contract of marriage had existed, Edward IV's espousal of the fascinating Elizabeth Widville was null and void. Bear in mind that contracts of marriage are *contracts*, whether the wedding ceremony has been performed or not. In the Middle Ages so much importance was attached to them that they could even be made the grounds of attacking a



National Portrait Gallery, London.
King Edward III. By long-standing tradition, the
face—though somewhat formalized—is based on a
death-mask of the King.
(After the bronze effigy on his tomb-chest in Westminster Abbey:
sculptor unknown.)

subsequent marriage. It was not merely a question of breach of promise and, possibly, damages.

Worse than this, an undissolved marriage between Edward IV and Lady Eleanor Butler was conjured up to aid the grand

* That is, marry Elizabeth Widville.

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assault on Edward V's legitimacy. But let us lay such problems aside, and glance at Edward IV's character.



King Edward IV

King Edward IV—a patron of the Arts and Sciences as well as a competent soldier.

(After a painting at Canterbury. From J. Nichols' "History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester.")

Not to mince matters, Edward IV was a lover of women. When the Duchess of York objected that Elizabeth Widville was a widow with two children, he replied that he was a bachelor, and had some too! Certain "Haroun al Raschid" adventures resulted in various intrigues, one of which set up the lovely Jane Shore as his favourite. She was the daughter of Thomas Wainstead, a mercer of London, and had

married a goldsmith named William Shore, some fourteen or fifteen years older than herself.

With this "Rose of London" Edward fell deeply in love, and her position as his mistress made her a focus of jealousy. When Edward died she was savagely treated, and accused, among other crimes, of sorcery and witchcraft. Of these she was acquitted, but Richard III hounded her down on a charge of harlotry, and forced her to do public penance.

Bare-footed, clad only in a white sheet, and carrying a lighted candle, she walked through the streets to St. Paul's, where she was preached at, and obliged to declare her repentance. For a time she found a protector in the Marquess of Dorset; but lapsed into poverty. She was still alive in the reign of King Henry VIII.

One of the celebrated mistresses of history, Jane Shore "was not a mere courtesan." As C. J. S. Thompson has properly said:



King Edward V, who was murdered in the Tower of London in 1483.

(Detail from an engraving by and after G. Vertue, from a limning in a MS. then in the Library at Lambeth.)

The Edwards of England

"She was an unmoral rather than an immoral woman." *

We must not leave Edward IV in the silken bonds of his loves. A good soldier and sportsman, he also encouraged printing, and was interested in the arts and sciences. It is the murderous removal of his brother, "false, fleeting, perjur'd Clarence," and the death of the young Prince of Wales after Tewkesbury that hang round his neck like millstones; that is, if we credit old tales.

Edward V and Edward VI both died young: the one violently, the other by disease. Had the sixth Edward survived his horrid complication of evils, he might well have been as much of a despot as his father, dread Harry VIII. It was in the reign of the "Lion's Cub" that the ancestor of the English Prayer Book had its rise.

This, the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, was enjoined for use in 1549, under the first Act of Uniformity. It was based on a wide variety of sources, including the old service books used in England, the ancient liturgies, and various Roman and Lutheran works.

It was not particularly well received, and dangerous insurrections broke out in various parts of England when local priests attempted to introduce the "Christmas game." On the other hand, the Reforming party considered it too Papist, and in 1552 the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI was issued. It is no part of my purpose to enter into polemics, nor to discuss the history of the Prayer Book of the Church of England since Edward VI's

death; but one point is interesting enough to be mentioned here. In the Act of Uniformity of 1559, when the Prayer Book was again revised, it was clearly stated: "That such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, shall be retained, and be in use, as was in this Church of *England*, by Authority of Parliament, in the second Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth, until other Order shall be therein taken by the Authority of the Queen's Majesty," etc.

And in the Prayer Book itself: "Such Ornaments of the Church, and of the Ministers thereof, at all Times of their Ministry, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of *England*, by the Authority of Parliament, in the Second Year of the Reign of King *Edward* the Sixth."

These passages can still be read in the authorized Prayer Book of to-day (1936), and Anglo-Catholics are apt to point to them, if harried on the subject of vestments.

After Edward VI was buried under the altar in Henry VII's Chapel, nearly three and half centuries elapsed before another Edward sat in the place of his fathers. King Edward VII, in whom the ancient name was restored, came late to the throne in 1901. In a sense, he lacked a full chance to prove his considerable mettle. But though he reigned for less than a decade, Queen Victoria's son proved, beyond manner of



National Portrait Gallery, London.
King Edward VI—one of the few bachelor monarchs of England.

(From a painting by an unknown artist.)

* *The Witchery of Jane Shore*, which I have consulted while writing the foregoing paragraphs.

Coronation Cavalcade

doubt, his admirable qualities as King. One of the acutest diplomatists of his period, he has been invested with the honourable popular title of "Edward the Peacemaker." Some, who had less cause to love him, called him "Edward the Spider"—in itself a back-handed compliment, for he had kept various recalcitrant royalties abroad severely



King Edward VII In the Robes of a Doctor of Civil Law.
(From the painting by Fred Roe, R.I., at the King Edward VII Grammar School, King's Lynn.)

in check when their activities threatened the peace of the Empire—and of the World.

Many of us can remember the consternation aroused by the news of the King's serious illness in 1902. He was to have been crowned on June 26, but a few days before the ceremony was found to be suffering from perityphlitis, and the Coronation had to be postponed till August 9.

By assuming the style of King of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, he

recognized the rise of a Greater Britain, thus forging a fresh link between the old and the new. As the second British Monarch to rule over the Indian Empire, his succession emphasized the beneficent majesty of our power in the East. This dignified, bearded figure, with the piercing blue eyes; rather short—but well turned—in the leg, big built on the torso, has left a lasting impression of kingliness.

My father (Fred Roe) was graciously permitted to paint this King's portrait. Our old friend, Sir William Lancaster, had refounded the Grammar School at King's Lynn, renaming it King Edward VII's Grammar School. King Edward attended the opening, and dubbed Lancaster knight on the spot. It was for the Hall of the School that His Majesty's portrait was painted, and my father was allowed to set up his easel at Buckingham Palace, where the King "sat" for him.

As the portrait was destined for a seat of learning, it was decided to portray King Edward in D.C.L. robes, and seated in a chair of estate of about the year 1500. Here my father's knowledge of old oak came in, for the "model" for the chair was a piece of linenfold panelling, *plus* a loose carved pilaster, in his own studio.

As a first-hand account is always more valuable than a paraphrase, I have asked my father to jot down his own impressions of the sittings. Here are his words:

"From the very first moment that His Majesty entered the room, I was impressed with the wonderful graciousness and urbanity that endeared him to every class of his subjects. He asked me a few questions as to my East Anglian descent and associations, and quickly put me at my ease.

"The task of painting the portrait was not an easy one, for each sitting took place in a different room, and with a different lighting which had to be corrected as the work progressed. At one dreadful moment, a dense fog descended like a pall, blotting everything out. All of the accessories, of course, had to be painted in my studio.

The Edwards of England

"The subsequent entry of an equerry delivering a submission for an audience on someone's behalf, provided me with a first-hand instance of the wonderful memory which His Majesty possessed for faces and ceremonial distinctions, but which etiquette prevents me from describing in detail."

Of our former King Edward VIII, I say but this now. None of our Monarchs has come to the Throne with a finer record of personal service. As Prince of Wales, Edward VIII proved himself our greatest ambassador, and there can be no question but that he had immensely strengthened the links of the Empire and increased the respect in which it is held by the world.

Like his Royal Father and Grandfather, he is a very well-travelled man; while his manner of soldiering in the Great War of 1914-18 was a testimony to his disregard of personal safety.

Though their careers have but little in common save this, Edward the Black Prince and Edward whom we knew as King Edward VIII are the greatest on the list of our Princes of Wales. Nor have we any right to suggest that, because his reign was early terminated, Edward VIII might not have been a monarch of outstanding consequence.

In *King Edward VIII: His Life and Times*, I have given my impression of what was, at any rate, a singularly interesting and dramatic period. Here it is merely necessary to add that Edward VIII's abdication on December 11, 1936, supplies yet another instance of the power of Parliamentary Government. It was this King's respect for constitutional procedure that impelled him to resign his proud position when, for personal reasons, he found it quite impossible to "carry on." He made no effort whatever to appeal to any theory based on the Divine Right of Kings, thus recognizing in the most practical manner possible the national conception of rulership. By so doing, he not only saved the country from a disastrous split, but made

way for the calling to power of a King and Queen who have every call on our affectionate allegiance, who were already well known to us, and whom we could accept without one tittle of hesitation.

In his own lifetime, Edward VIII—since created Duke of Windsor—achieves the rare feat of passing into legend. He left



Photo: Bertram Park.

King Edward VIII as Colonel-In-Chief of the Seaforth Highlanders. His brief and dramatic tenure of the English Throne was the shortest reign for over three and a half centuries.

us without having been consecrated as King. In presenting next an account of another uncrowned Edward, I can but note how much their cases differ. Edward V's worst enemy was his uncle; Edward VIII's next Brother acted in all honour as one of his best and greatest friends. In accepting the heavy burden of rulership, King George VI did so sadly, because of him who was gone, but none the less in a spirit of high endeavour because his destiny had willed it.

CHAPTER XXV

Murder Most Foul!

EDWARD IV died on April 9, 1483, and the elder of his two sons was proclaimed as Edward V. Both boys were young: Edward was born in 1470, and Richard, Duke of York, in 1473. Under their father's will the guardianship of Edward V was entrusted to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, his uncle, whom, for the governance of the realm, the Council acknowledged as Lord Protector.

This position was not to Gloucester's liking; he wanted the Crown for himself. Plot and counter-plot followed, with the shedding of blood, the upshot being that Edward V's Coronation was postponed—*sine die*, as it befel.

Having secured the King's person, Gloucester added the young Duke of York to the bag at the first opportunity. This achieved, doubts as to the legitimacy of the two Princes conveniently circulated. Not only that, but the begettals of their sire Edward IV and his brother, George, Duke of Clarence (of "butt of malmsey" fame), were assailed. Which meant, in effect, that Gloucester himself was the sole true son of his father, and therefore legitimate heir to the throne.

The succession thus being adapted in his favour, Gloucester took advantage of the old English custom of election. By pre-arrangement, some retainers of the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham raised shouts of "King Richard!" when the Lord Mayor of London asked him to take the Crown.

This was held to constitute a popular clamour. On the next day a subservient Parliament invited Gloucester to be King.

He made a great show of refusing, before complying with their "wish."

His accession was reckoned as from June 26, 1483, and on July 6 he was crowned as King Richard III.

Meanwhile, the "boy Princes," Edward V and the Duke of York, were safely bestowed, from Crookback's point of view; but as pretenders to his throne they were still dangerous. At any time agitation might be raised in their favour. This Richard decided to obviate.

By tradition, the final home of the Princes was the Bloody Tower, hard by where the Crown Jewels are now housed and where, again by tradition, King Henry VI had been slain at his prayers. In such surroundings the innocent sons of Edward IV, who supplanted Henry, were to be butchered.

State murders of this sort were not lavishly publicized, so there is a good deal of doubt as to many details of the story. What seems to have happened was this:

Richard III, who had progressed to Warwick, sent a message to Sir Robert Brackenbury (or Brakenbury), Lieutenant of the Tower, instructing him to destroy the two Princes. This office, to Richard's exceeding annoyance, the Lieutenant refused to perform.

Richard was grumbling about the untrustworthiness of his servants, when somebody suggested an alternative measure. As a result, Sir James Tyrrell was despatched to London, with an instruction from Richard that Brackenbury was to deliver the Tower into his hands *for one night*.

With Tyrrell went, in that August of 1483,

Murder Most Foul!

two handy assassins: Miles Forrest, "flesh bred in murder aforetime" (as an old account has it), and Tyrrell's horse-keeper, John Dighton, "a big, broad, square, strong knave."

Armed with his exalted authority, Tyrrell and his followers entered the Tower.

With the aid of a fellow called "Black Will," otherwise William Slaughter, or Slater, who was in attendance on the Princes, the murderers stole into the room where the children were sleeping. It was about midnight, and the grim bulk of the Tower was enveloped in darkness.

Suddenly wrapping the youngsters in the bed-clothes, Dighton and Forrest forced the feather-bed and pillows hard on their faces, and throwing their weight on the shrouded and agonized forms, kept them horribly still.

Such is one, the popularly accepted, version of this foul murder. The other, and probably the more accurate, is no less hideous. According to it, one of the Princes had his throat slit, while the other was smothered in the bed-clothes.

In either event, the deed was swiftly accomplished. Tyrrell was called in to look at the corpses, and, after ordering them to be buried at the stair foot, sped back to his master at Warwick.

"The tyrannous and bloody deed is done,—
The most arch-act of piteous massacre,
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton, and Forrest, whom I did
suborn

*To do this ruthless piece of butchery,
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody
dogs,*



National Portrait Gallery, London.

King Richard III, at whose instigation the boy King Edward V and his brother were murdered in the Tower of London in 1483.

(From a painting by an unknown artist.)

*Melting with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like two children in their death's sad
story.
'I so, thus,' quoth Dighton, 'lay those
tender babes,'—
'Thus, thus,' quoth Forrest, 'girdling one
another'*

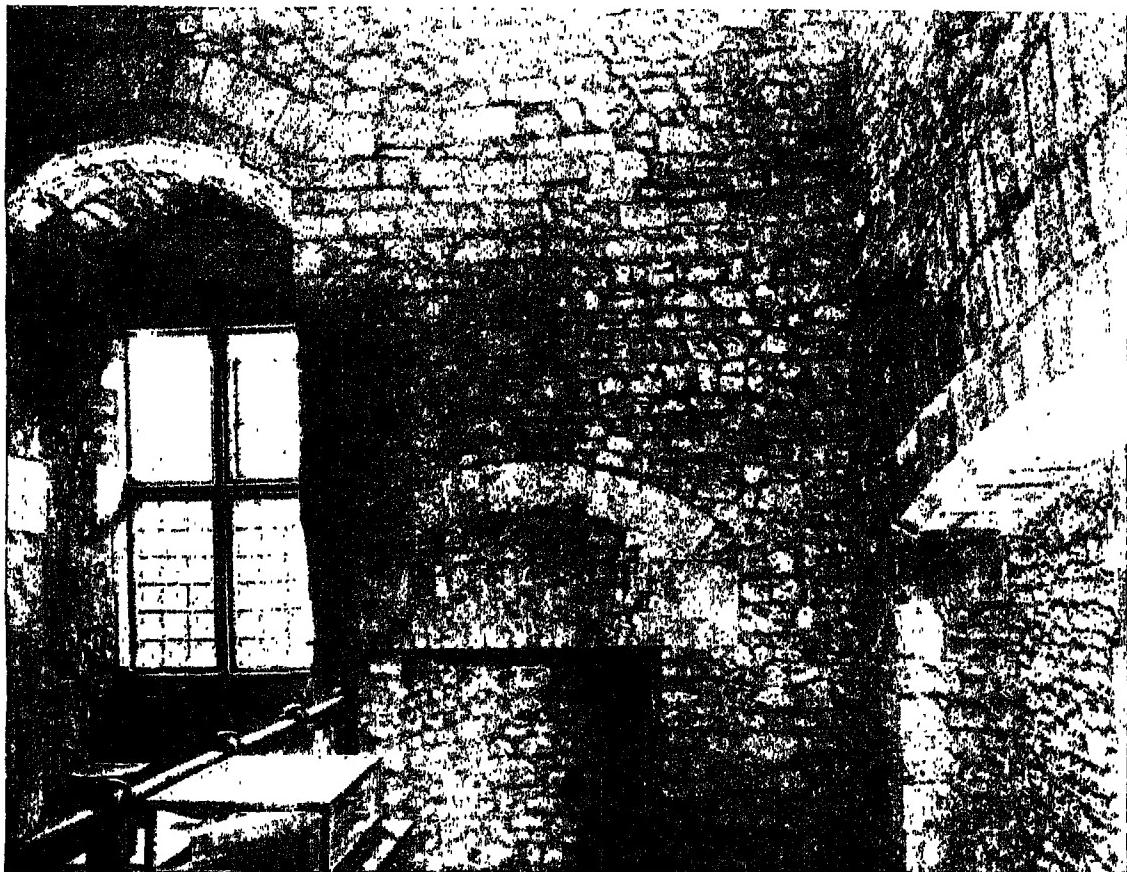
Coronation Cavalcade

Within their innocent alabaster arms :
Their lips like four red roses on a
stalk,
Which, in their summer beauty, kiss'd
each other.

A book of prayers on their pillow lay ;
Which once,' quoth Forrest, ' almost
chang'd my mind ;
But O, the devil'—there the villain
stopp'd ;
When Dighton thus told on :—' We
smothered
The most replenished sweet work of
nature,
That, from the prime creation, e'er she
fram'd.'—

Hence both are gone with conscience and
remorse ;
They could not speak ; and so I left them
both,
To bring this tidings to the bloody king."

Thus Tyrrell's famed soliloquy in Shakespeare's *Richard III* (Act iv, Scene iii). It is fine enough melodrama; I am not under-rating it by saying that; yet I confess that, as a picture of the murder of the Princes, it has never convinced me. However, there is little enough to go upon, though it is known that Richard III had the piety to order the reburial of the slain lads in consecrated ground.



By permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

Within the Bloody Tower and on, or adjacent to, the traditional scene of the murder of the two boy Princes in August, 1483. Known at the date of the crime as the Garden Tower, this structure belongs in part to the first half of the 13th century, but much of the superstructure—including the room here shown—is of late 14th-century construction. It was thus only about a century old when the murder was committed.
(From the "Inventory of East London," by courtesy of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.)

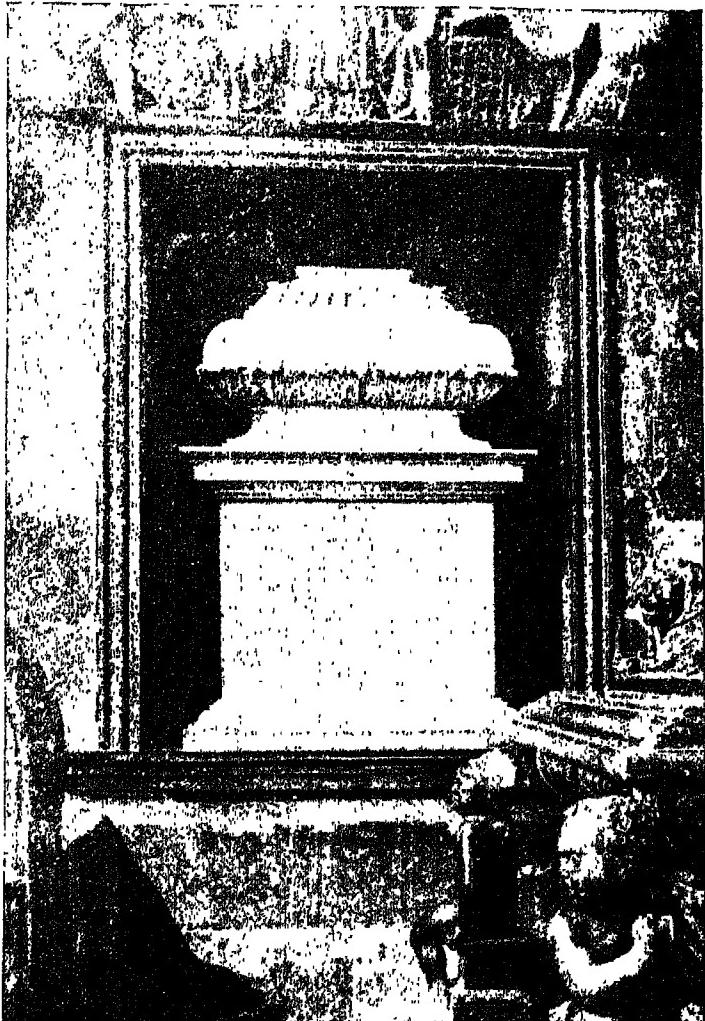
Murder Most Foul!

And in September Richard had another Coronation at York, to consolidate his position and (secretly) to remove any taint of diminution from the Crown. So much was said or implied by sundry old writers, though this "Coronation" is now discredited.

Attempts have been made, notably by Sir Clements Markham, to whitewash Richard Crookback. It has been alleged that Edward V was alive for some three years after the date of the murder, and that he was actually made away with by Henry VII. All this rests on a foundation of ingenious theory, involving documentary details which are susceptible of different explanation. Many find no cause to doubt the basic soundness of the story as I have told it.

It is, of course, historic fact that Henry VII was troubled by pretenders to the throne. Lambert, called "Simnel," the first of these, claimed to be Clarence's son, Edward Earl of Warwick, escaped from the Tower. Next came Perkin Warbeck, who asserted that he was Edward V's younger brother, who had not been murdered after all. In both cases Henry Tudor won the hand.

Long afterwards, in 1674, workmen digging in the Tower of London unearthed the bones of two boys, which were believed to be the mortal *residua* of the murdered Princes. On that assumption, Charles II had them placed in a marble urn in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster Abbey. Doubt has been cast on the identity of these sad relics with the luckless Edward V and his brother. But in 1933 the urn was opened, and the bones scientifically and reverently examined. The approximate ages deducible from the remains were consistent with those of the



Courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

The marble urn in King Henry VII's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, wherein lie the remains of the murdered boy Princes; they were so enshrined by King Charles II in 1678.

Princes in 1483. Among other points, Professor Wright observed that the facial bones of one of the skulls were blood-stained. The which, taken in conjunction with another detail noted by Professor Wright, is not inconsistent with a death by suffocation, brought about by heavy pressure upon the face. The result of this investigation was strongly to support the view that these and these alone are the actual vestiges of one of the foulest crimes in history.

CHAPTER XXVI

Bachelor Monarchs

HIS MAJESTY KING GEORGE VI was in his 14th year of happy married life when he ascended the Throne. He succeeded a Bachelor Monarch, whose matrimonial project resulted in abdication. A survey of our rulers in relation to wedlock is not inappropriate.

Very nearly a century before King George's accession, an unmarried girl of eighteen became Queen-Regnant of these realms. She, of course, was Victoria, destined to marry in less than three years and so to become His Majesty's great-grandmother. For less than a year after his accession, King George III remained spouseless, but married a fortnight before his Coronation; while King Charles II, who seldom took bachelorhood seriously, entered matrimony some thirteen months after his crowning in Westminster Abbey.

We are retiring in history. King Charles I was unmarried when he succeeded his father, but espoused Henrietta Maria in less than two months from that date, and less than nine months before he was crowned. But to reach a positively bachelor monarch, we have to skip James I and go back to Elizabeth.

Her predecessor and sister, Queen Mary I, was crowned in October, 1553, and married Philip of Spain in the following July. Edward VI never married; but his dread father, Henry VIII, commenced his matrimonial sequence just about a fortnight before Coronation. Henry VII was single when Richard III fell to his arms at the Battle of Bosworth, though he married within a few months.

In the young King Edward V, another of our bachelor monarchs is found; but never another until William II, four centuries earlier. Betwixt these twain various kings came unmarried to the throne, but altered their state. Of such, among others, was Henry VI, whose extreme youth at accession kept him a bachelor for close upon sixteen years following his English crowning in 1429.

Richard II, another young king, was wed at 15, five and a half years after Coronation; and Edward III married Philippa of Hainault at approximately 15, less than a twelve-month after his consecration as King. Half a year separated Edward II's succession and marriage, which latter happened a full month before he was crowned; but Henry III, who was crowned in 1216, did not wed until 1236, this constituting a record of its kind.

Richard I's Coronation took place in 1189; his nuptials, in 1191; and Henry I led St. Margaret's daughter to the altar in November, 1100, having been crowned in the previous August. William the Conqueror brought his consort from Normandy.

Thus, since the Conquest, many of our monarchs have married after reaching the throne. But not more than four have so far seen their lives through without wedding.

Of these, William II was not the most shining example. At the time of the Norman invasion he was not above ten, and a prince of some promise. Whereas Queen Matilda's favourite son was her eldest, Robert called *Courtoise*, it was William the

Bachelor Monarchs

Red who was the apple of the Conqueror's eye. It had not always been thus, for there was, between Robert and *Rufus*, another son, Richard, who had been the Conqueror's favourite. But Richard was killed by a stag, in the New Forest, and *Rufus* dropped into his place. In the light of after events, one may feel that it was not the luckiest hap to be the Conqueror's favourite son, for long years afterwards *Rufus* himself was to die in the selfsame district which his father had ravaged.

On his death-bed the Conqueror nominated *Rufus* as his successor to the throne. With the rebellious Robert he was sorely dissatisfied; but there was another point. Rulership of the duchy was strictly hereditary; that of England was not. There was no essential reason for the Conqueror to leave all his eggs in one precarious basket. He had cause to understand the troubles attending the union of England and Normandy; and his policy was sound. It was the English possessions in France which were to keep the English and French at each other's throats. So Red William had England, and Robert the duchy.

The Red Prince hastened to Winchester, where he secured the Royal Treasury. Speed was imperative. His now elder brother, Robert, who succeeded to the Duchy of Normandy, was a powerful pretender, though hampered by his unreadiness. So *Rufus* kept secret the Conqueror's death, until he had strengthened his position by securing Dover, Hastings, Pevensey, and other great castles, and obtaining powerful support.

This took him some nineteen days from his father's decease, and on Sunday, September 26, 1087, he was crowned. Possession is nine points of the law, and

William well knew it. But his position was undoubtedly aided by the fact that the people of England saw nothing unwonted in a younger son reaching the throne. For centuries past they had been accustomed to monarchs arising from this or that source. And though their elective choice was not infrequently forced, it was not dependent upon primogeniture.

There was, however, a faction which determined to put Robert's claim to the test. A leading spirit in this was the Conqueror's brother of the half-blood, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, who had various personal grievances. Without waiting for Robert, who was seldom on the spot when required, a strong confederation of the Norman barons started to harry our country.

Now the Red King was far from a saint, but his nature was swift and courageous. He appealed to the English in words which have rung down the ages.

"Let every man who would not be accounted *nithing*, arm and follow me, and help me to chastise these insolent traitors."

He had gauged the national temper. No Saxon would endure being traduced as *nithing* (or craven).* It had much the same effect upon them as *cochon* now has on a Frenchman, or a certain epithet, when uttered in contemptuous tones, to an average Briton or American to-day. It was the unforgivable word. Furthermore, the Red King had been crowned, the people assenting. Who were these Normans who would gainsay that act, and rejoin England to Normandy?

"Search well the annals of the English," they shouted; "they have been ever faithful to their kings."

* It bore, in addition, the more serious implication of treachery.

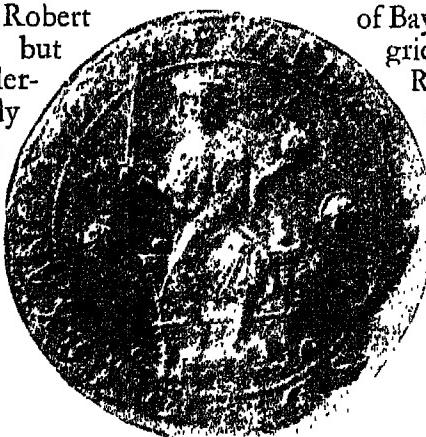


Photo: W. E. Mansell.
King William II—the Red King—who remained a bachelor monarch until his death.
(From an impression of his Great Seal.)

Coronation Cavalcade

So Saxon and Norman alike marched forth under William, and, after some trouble, the rebels were crushed.



National Portrait Gallery, London.

Robert "Courthouse," Duke of Normandy, and eldest son of William the Conqueror, whose pretensions to the English Crown were a source of continual embarrassment to King William II.

There is an oriental proverb which runs: "When sick, embrace Buddha's feet; when well, forget to burn incense." Firmly established on his throne, William overlooked his various promises, whether to maintain or to better the laws of the country. Archbishop Lanfranc, a Norman, saw the gross injustice of this, and remonstrated with the King. But *Rufus*, who had a large share of the Norman violence of temper, flew into a rage.

"Is it possible," he stormed, "for a king to keep all his promises?" Nowadays such views are transferred to the sphere of parliamentary politics.

One thing the Red King did not forget: the position of his brother in Normandy. Robert's part in the aggression had rendered him much more than suspect. He had been a pretender to the throne, and was still at large. There were other grounds for complaint.

In 1090-91, William invaded Normandy and menaced Robert's safety. Eventually a truce was effected—with sundry advantages to William. As regards the succession, this decision was arranged. Robert should hold Normandy; and William, England, each appointing the other as his successor, should no lawful issue be left. This treaty ratified, Robert and William turned to and attacked their youngest brother Henry (afterwards Henry I).

The dynastic squabble did not end there. Malcolm Canmore, the King of Scots, now entered the field. Having married into the House of Cerdic, his views were of moment, as were his arms. Taking advantage of William's absence, Malcolm invaded England, and, after being very promptly faced and driven back behind the swollen Forth, announced that he owed William nothing but war; but that to Robert, the Conqueror's eldest son, he was ready to pay homage.

The affair was arranged by Robert himself with the help of Edgar the Atheling, who was then living in Scotland. Now Edgar was both the heir of the House of Cerdic and Malcolm's kinsman, so it is clear that

Bachelor Monarchs

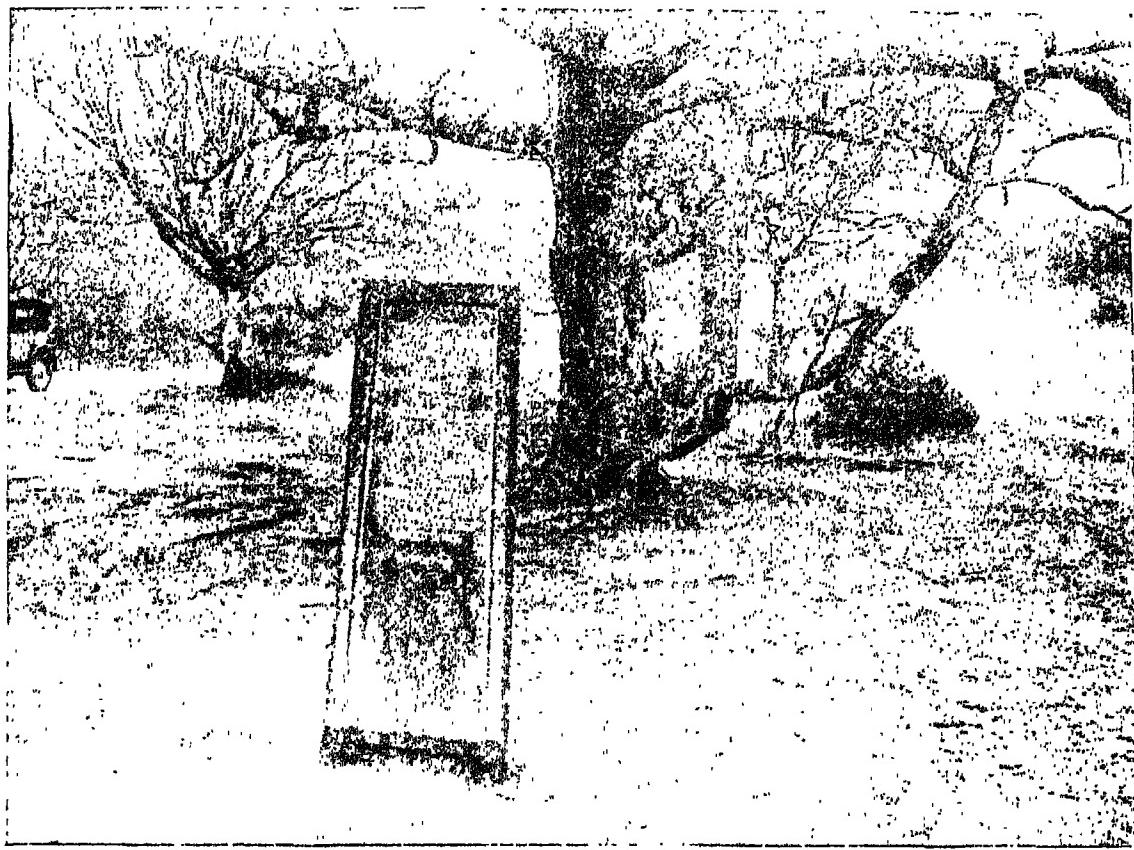


Photo: W. F. Taylor.

The Rufus Stone which traditionally marks the site in the New Forest, Hampshire, of the oak tree which deflected an arrow shot by Sir Walter Tirel and so caused the death of King William II. The inscription reads: "Here stood the oak tree on which an arrow shot by Sir Walter Tyrrell at a stag glanced and struck King William the Second surnamed Rufus on the breast of which he instantly died on the second day of August anno 1100."

the Scot's ideas did not depend on the theory of primogeniture. What Malcolm himself said was to the effect that when the Confessor gave him his grand-niece, Margaret, in marriage, he endowed her with the Lothians as her portion. William the Conqueror had confirmed what the Confessor had granted, and had commended his eldest son, Robert, to Malcolm. Thus Malcolm was ready to renew the engagements with Robert, but had promised and owed nothing to *Rufus*. A very sound piece of Scots logic.

Again all was well, but the Red King did not forget Robert. And, without our going into details, the watched pot eventually boiled. In 1093 Robert, incensed at William's failure to keep faith with him,

defied his brother as a "perjured knight." *Rufus* went for him but had to retire before the King of France, who arrived to aid Robert, and had to be bought off expensively. But the check was temporary, for Robert decided to join the First Crusade, and pledged his duchy to William for the necessary funds. William had his fingers in the Normandy pie.

As for Robert, after William's death, he was again persuaded to try for the Crown. He failed, made friends with Henry I, and then once more fell out with him. He was captured by Henry at Tinchebray in 1106, lost both his duchy and his liberty, and was kept in custody until his death in Cardiff Castle nearly 30 years afterwards.

Coronation Cavalcade

I touch, and by no means fully, on the relations between these brothers, for their bearing upon the succession to the throne. There were many dramatic incidents in the Red King's career; his investiture of Anselm by force as Archbishop of Canterbury is a standing example. And, of course, nothing appeals to the public like the manner of his death. The circumstances of it, the portents by which it was (said to be) heralded, the King's fearsome vision on the previous night—all these have passed into popular legend.

Exactly what happened in the New Forest on August 2, 1100, will never be known. Somehow or other, the King received an arrow sped by Walter Tirel at a stag—or so it was stated.* The Red King clutched at the shaft, broke it off short, and fell dead on his face. The arrow which pierced Harold's eye was avenged.

Tirel fled to France by way of the ford which still bears his name near Christchurch. His panic was shared by the rest of the hunt, which immediately scattered. The corpse was left lying until some servants plucked up courage to return and lay it in the cart of Purkiss, the charcoal burner, which conveyed it to Winchester with one undignified tumble by the way.

"Will. le Rous," the *Rufus* of the latinists, was not a "good" man, as we judge them. He was violent, rapacious and profligate, with a sense of humour for which "broad" is a meek and mild term. But the last, at any rate, is not a point against him. The mirth of antiquity is not to be judged by the wit of the present. It was, in the main, an extremely full-blooded affair.

Agnes Strickland, whose book on *The Bachelor Kings of England* has been utilized in this chapter, takes a ladylike view of his humour. "The mirthful destructiveness of his character, unsoftened by the refined delicacy of female society, and the gentle influence of a virtuous consort," is her manner of putting it. But had Agnes Strickland been transported back to the 11th century, she might have found less of the "refined delicacy of female society" than

her Victorian taste would have tolerated. Other times, other ways. They could be dignified and gentle, those mediæval ladies; and they could also be otherwise. Breeding and refinement are not synonymous terms.

That the Red King did not lack for feminine company—of a sort, and that he preferred it apart from the matrimonial tie, cannot be disguised. But despite his faults, which were obvious, his memory suffered at the hands of the Church, which had been given cause to detest him.

The chroniclers had the last say; we need not follow them further. William the Red was a king and a leader; he had vices and to spare, not the least of them being that he was so little a man of his word. Yet his period lay strongly upon him, and though he might be a robber and a ruffian, he was by no means the least of our kings.

After his death, no king lived wholly a bachelor till Edward V—with whose end a Tyrrell was also associated—and, a few reigns after him, Edward VI. In both cases, their careers were early curtailed, so there is no saying what might have happened had they survived. They properly belong to the tale of the Edwards.

Why Queen Elizabeth, our next bachelor monarch, retained single blessedness has been a great deal disputed. She was obviously a woman of masterful temper, and ill brooked any interference. This nature, which she inherited from her father, the "Professional Widower," would amply suffice to keep her independent. There was nothing of the subordinate in her imperious spirit. To employ a distressing metaphor of our time, she was the "big shot" who severely discouraged competition. A consort—if any—would be that, and no more.

Said "Gloriana" to the Spanish Ambassador: "It is not fit for a queen and a maiden to summon anyone to marry her."†

* I give the popular version of the tale; but there is a case in Tirel's favour.

† For Queen Elizabeth's own words, I have relied partly upon the careful texts in Frederick Chamberlin's works. (See *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth*.)

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And to her own favourite, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester:

"If you think to rule here, I will take a course to see you forthcoming: I will have here but one Mistress and no Master."

To that position she held, and it alone would suffice to keep her out of the marriage market.

There is, however, another side to the question. Was the Virgin Queen so from choice? In other words, could she be anything else? To a reader brought up on the froth of history, such a suggestion may seem absurd. Surrounded by, in more senses than one, the most gallant body of men in Europe, and anything but free from innuendoes concerning her personal habits, "Great Eliza" might well seem to have possessed all that amorous nature which characterized her illustrious sire. But had she so?

The case against such a finding was admirably worked out by Frederick Chamberlin in one of the most fascinating historical studies ever written. With the utmost patience and skill, he prepared a report on the history of Elizabeth's health from documentary sources. This report, as full as circumstances permitted, was published in his book, *The Private Character of Queen Elizabeth*, the net result being the conclusion that "Gloriana" was not as other women. In other words, that owing, perhaps, to some great shock at the critical age of puberty, the Queen's sexual system was impaired. Without going into detail, we can at least note that this view has been

supported by no less an authority than Sir Arthur Keith. After considering the historical evidence placed before him by Chamberlin, Sir Arthur declared his opinion that "in a medical sense her sexual system was blasted; she had neither the instinct of sweetheart nor mother—for these instincts are impossible in such a frame as hers" (*op. cit.*).

Such an opinion cannot be lightly dismissed, and that Elizabeth was partial to male society need not tell against it. It is well known that persons labouring under sexual disability can behave in an outwardly opposite manner. This may arise from inclination and thwarted attempts to compensate nature, or from an intrepid desire to keep the truth secret. In *The Days of the King*—some of the finest pieces of historical fiction—Bruno Frank has pictured Frederick the Great in the latter position.

In such an event, anti-Shakespearean theories involving the suggestion that Bacon was Elizabeth's son are cancelled at the start. It is, however, a fact that Elizabeth was suspected of having had a child or children by Leicester, and an Englishman who appeared in Spain under the name of Arthur Dudley was reputed to be the Queen's son. Any great person in Elizabeth's position is pretty well sure to be "talked about." We need not believe all we are told.

There arose gossip that Elizabeth's objection to any potential issue being described in official documents as "lawful," "was done by the contrivance of Leicester, with a design to impose, hereafter, some base



National Portrait Gallery, London.
Queen Elizabeth—one of the greatest of England's sovereigns—whose celibacy has given rise to much controversy.

(From a painting by an unknown artist.)

Coronation Cavalcade

son of his own upon the nation as the Queen's offspring." But Elizabeth was a very proud woman with a high sense of her position. It is easy enough to explain her objection on the grounds that to speak of her "lawful issue" was derogatory, as implying that Majesty could err.

For all this, Elizabeth—the most learned and scholarly woman of her age—had very feminine foibles.

Her wardrobe was vast; it, of course, was an obligation of rank. At her death it contained over 2,000 dresses and robes, including tunics and such like. She loved finery, jewels, and (in its place) masculine flattery. But when young Gilbert Talbot chanced to glimpse her in her "night stuff," he got a "great fillip on the forehead" for his pains. She was not then prepared to face homage. And when she considered that the portraits of her were unflattering, she commanded them to be rendered henceforth *without shadows*.

Moreover, "Great Eliza" had a full share of female vindictiveness. Her attitude to Mary, Queen of Scots, is an obvious instance of this, and by far the most quoted. But, to my mind, still crueler was her usage of Lady Katherine Grey, next sister of the "Nine Days' Queen." Her treatment of Katherine and her supposedly natural, but really legitimate, children, was savage. Elizabeth could never tolerate talk of successors to her throne; here was a brood who might threaten it.

In the Queen of Scots' case, "Gloriana"

had a deal more to worry about. That, at least, must be recognized, even though the beheading itself be a controversial act.

If Elizabeth's legitimacy could be impugned, as it frequently was, then the half-French Mary, whose first husband was successively Dauphin and King of France, was next heir, by normal succession, to the throne. In fact, Mary had actually assumed

the style of Queen of England at one stage of her career, and the plots of which she was the focus made her a constantly dangerous figure. On all counts, politically and personally, she was a perilous woman; so dangerously attractive was she that even to-day men are blind to her errors. And much is forgiven to her for the nobility which she displayed at her heading.

Such items are pressed into service in attacks on the Virgin Queen's



Mary, Queen of Scots—Queen Elizabeth's fascinating kinswoman and most dangerous rival.
(From a painting attributed to P. Oudry.)

memory. There has been, of late years, a sorry tendency to depreciate Elizabeth, mainly on polemical grounds. But whatever her failings, she was one of the greatest monarchs this nation has known. In a manner of speaking, her policy was within her means. Shrewder than most of her band of very shrewd ministers, she clung to the idea of a strong peace, and so gave England time to recuperate its powers. When she came to the throne, England was a negligible quantity in international politics. Its independence was largely owing to the jealousy of the great powers, France and Spain, neither of which could afford to let the other

Bachelor Monarchs

try to conquer it. At her death England was one of the greatest maritime powers in the world.

When she had to fight, she did so with spirit.

"By God's death! I would send my

had the day fixed to accord with the divinations of the great Dr. Dee. Sunday, January 15, 1558-59, was found to be auspicious.

On the 14th, Elizabeth passed in her "Recognition" Procession from the Tower



Photo: W. F. Taylor.

In the shadow of the walls of Richmond Palace, Surrey, where the last hours of England's Virgin Queen were spent. The royal residence was used by King Edward III, rebuilt by King Henry V, and restored by King Henry VII. What remains of the structure—of which the Tudor gateway is here seen—has been restored within recent years.

fleet to disperse the Armada even if it were in the interior of Spain!" *

To read that fine challenge is to hear the shrill of the trumpets, the full-shotted thunder, echoing yet down the ages. The Majesty of England had spoken.

Few in this world are completely devoid of what is called superstition. So far as my own experience goes, the person who scouts "superstitions" *in toto* is often a fool, and always a very bad antiquary. When Elizabeth's Coronation was being arranged, she

to Westminster. She rode in a chariot covered with crimson velvet, under a canopy supported by knights. Various pageants were met by the way, one taking the form of a pedigree with Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, Henry VIII and Anne Bullen, issuing from red or white, or dimidiated Roses, and leading up to an effigy of Elizabeth.

At Temple Bar appeared Gog and Magog themselves, the legendary giants of the City.

* Chamberlin: *The Sayings of Queen Elizabeth.*

Coronation Cavalcade

On the following day Elizabeth was crowned by Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, in Westminster Abbey. There had been difficulty in finding a prelate for the office. Canterbury was dead, and York had refused, as had the other bishops opposed to her views and her legitimacy. However, Oglethorpe officiated—in vestments borrowed from Bonner. The anointing displeased Elizabeth's nose: "the oil was grease, and smelled ill." She was gorgeously arrayed in cloth of gold, and silver tissue, furred with powdered ermines.

And so, girt with the sword, and wearing the bracelets on her arms, Elizabeth received the Crowns.

* * * * *

Pass 44 years. In the palace of Richmond in Surrey a haggard old woman lay dying.

For days, she had moped upon cushions, and, once, being pulled to her feet, remained standing for fifteen hours with the obstinacy of the sick. Cecil had tried to persuade her to be put to bed, and Cecil had said "must."

At that the old Lioness stirred.

"The word 'must' is not to be used to princes," she flashed out; and then, "Little man, little man, if your father had lived ye durst not have said so much; but ye

know I must die and that makes ye so presumptuous."

Eventually the doctors had put her to bed, and almost by force. She was there fifteen days.

On March 23, 1602-3, her ministers gathered in the room, and begged her to choose her successor. They recited some names, respectfully asking her to hold up a finger at that which she pleased.

To test the state of her mind, they commenced with the King of France.

She lay still.

The King of Scotland?

(*A movement?*)

Lord Beauchamp, her kinsman, Katherine Grey's child?

At that, the Lioness roared: "I will have no rascal's son in my seat, but one worthy to be a King."

About six in the evening the dying Queen signed for the Archbishop of Canterbury and her chaplains, who did what they might for her soul. And by the chill hour of three in the morning she had passed to her God.

While "Gloriana" yet lay in her stupor, one of her horror-struck ladies had encountered *something* in her likeness, walking where the Queen could not be.

Untamable, even by Death. . . .

CHAPTER XXVII

Her Majesty!

HERE is an old story that after Beorhtric (predecessor of Egbert as King of Wessex) had died in 802, through accidentally drinking poison prepared by his lady, Fadburga, for somebody else, the men of Wessex would have no queens crowned, nor even entitled as anything but the "king's wife." It is at least fact that no provision was made for the consecration of a Queen in the first known Coronation Order, though the office was included in the second. She was then ordered to be anointed, given a ring and crowned.

This revision is supposed to have been brought about when Ethelwulf married Judith of France, to whom he determined to give full regal honours.

For popular purposes it may be as well to leave the story there, without discussing its technicalities. At the same time it must not be thought that the Saxon Consorts were a collection of soulless harpies. Pre-Conquest history yields some bad cases, and some remarkably good ones. We have all heard the tale of how Alfred, as a boy, won a book of poetry from his mother, as a reward for reciting its contents. That may or may not be true; but even if it be an ancient fable, as many think, it gives a happy picture of a Saxon King's wife, and admits us to a company of gracious ladies.

Throughout the march of history there have been good and indifferent Queens, as there have been good and indifferent Kings, but we can take our stand on the undoubted fact that many of the former have been remarkable and gifted women. In this

cavalcade Edward II's Consort, Isabella, the "she-wolf of France," cuts a rare and lonely figure.

As a good many Queens are scattered up and down the pages of this book, I do not propose to enter upon a record of the Consorts. More apposite will be a series of glimpses of their crownings, gleaned more or less at random from the chronicles. It was at the joint crowning of William the Conqueror and Queen Matilda, at Winchester, in 1068, that the Champion, in the person of Robert Marmion, is said to have performed the service which later passed, with possession of Scrivelsby, to his descendants the Dymokes. And certain other services afterwards performed at the Banquet are supposed to date from the same event.

Special importance was attached by the English to the crowning of Henry I's Consort in 1100, for she came of the old Saxon stock. The event was celebrated with great rejoicing and feastings. We usually speak of this Queen as Matilda, but her name was actually Edith. She assumed the other in respect to Norman feeling in the matter of nomenclature.

Many disputes arose between claimants for services at the Coronation of Henry III's Consort, Eleanor of Provence, in 1236. Much importance, therefore, has been attached by the Court of Claims to the record of this event.

Among the most lovely, notable and sympathetic Consorts, Eleanor of Castile, called the Faithful, will always occupy an important place. Her tomb by Richard

Coronation Cavalcade



National Portrait Gallery, London.
Queen Eleanor of Castile—King Edward I's first
Consort, who died in 1290.
(From a cast of the celebrated bronze effigy by William Torel on
the Queen's tomb chest in Westminster Abbey.)

Crundale, with its gilt bronze effigy by William Torel, and its wrought iron grille by Thomas of Leighton, is one of the greatest treasures of Westminster Abbey.

This splendid example of artistic co-operation survives but a few short paces distant from "St. Edward's Chair." That "siege royall," however, is a decade later than her death, nor was the Stone of Destiny to arrive at Westminster for more than twenty years after she was jointly crowned with Longshanks in 1274. "Amongst those present" was the King

of Scots, but Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, failed to appear and do homage; an affront resented by Edward by abducting Llewellyn's bride-elect, and compelling the Prince himself to submission by force of arms.

No less important than Eleanor's lovely tomb were the wayside crosses which Edward erected in his grief at every stage where her bier had rested in 1290 between Harby, Notts., and Westminster. Twelve of



Photo: W. F. Taylor.
The beautiful Eleanor Cross at Geddington, Northamptonshire, one of the few remaining of those monuments set up by King Edward I to mark the places where the Queen's bier rested on its journey from Harby to Westminster.

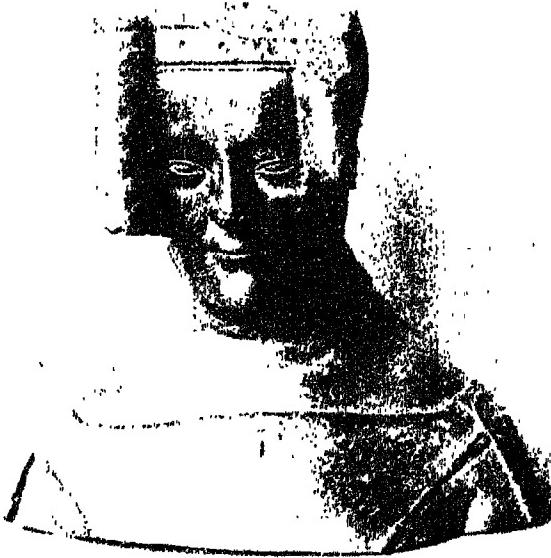
Her Majesty!

these existed; three remain—at Northampton, Geddington and Waltham Cross; for Charing Cross is a Victorian replacement, not quite in the same position as its lost predecessor.

Edward's second Consort, Margaret of France, had no Coronation, though a fine State Crown was furnished for her use, by Thomas de Frowick.

Isabella, the "she-wolf of France," brought two personal crowns to England in her treasury. Her joint Coronation with Edward II took place early in 1307-8. For the first time, the summons to the peers to attend the ceremony specified also the attendance of their wives. A disastrous incident nearly happened, for one of the nobles, incensed at the over-gaudy apparel and pretensions of Edward II's favourite, Piers Gaveston, would have killed him in the Abbey itself but refrained because of the young Queen's presence.

Philippa of Hainault, patroness of



National Portrait Gallery, London.



From the painting by Fred Roe, R.I.

Queen Philippa of Hainault pleading with King Edward III for the lives of the Burghers of Calais, which town was to remain in English possession from 1347 to 1558. The Queen herself (top) died in 1369.

(After the alabaster effigy—probably by Hawkin of Liège—on her tomb-chest in Westminster Abbey.)

Queen's College, Oxford, and one of our most memorable Consorts, was crowned in 1330, two years after her marriage to Edward III. Owing to the rapacity of the Queen-Mother and the Mortimers, the event was not marked by great splendour. And nine years afterwards, the national bankruptcy caused the pawning of her Crown at Cologne. It was this Queen who, in her husband's absence, inspired the army which defeated the Scots at Neville's Cross in 1346, when the Scots King, David, was taken prisoner. This Queen, also, who, when "very

Coronation Cavalcade

near her lying-in," fell on her knees before Edward III and successfully pleaded for the lives of the Burghers of Calais, after all other intervention had failed. Already the Queen had a sizable family. So loved was she that effigies of the Virgin and Child are said to have been based upon her presentment nursing the infant Black Prince. To us, such methods may smack of blasphemy, but they were not so regarded in the Middle Ages. In the Musée Royal at Antwerp is Fouquet's celebrated painting of the Virgin and Child, the former figure being traditionally a portrait of Agnès Sorel, mistress of Charles VII of France.

Long before the time of our last Stewart monarch, the style of "Good Queen Anne" was given to Richard II's Consort, who had implored a general amnesty to stay the reprisals consequent upon Wat Tyler's rebellion. Richard's rival, Henry IV, had his second Queen crowned with ceremonies more appropriate to a monarch-regnant. Such is suggested by a contemporary representation of the event, which happened in 1403. In 1420-21 her stepdaughter-in-law, Katherine of Valois, was crowned with great pomp at Westminster. As the season was Lent, the Banquet was a fish dinner, in which the inevitable "sotylties" occurred. At this feast the Queen interceded with Henry V for the release of King James I of Scotland, who had been captured by the English many years earlier.

Margaret of Anjou, whose emblem was the

daisy, married Henry VI in 1445, when she was fifteen, and was crowned about a month later. As at many other Coronations, one of the festivities was a tournament. Her supplanter, the fascinating Elizabeth Widville, consort of Edward IV, was crowned on Whit-Sunday, 1465. Agnes Strickland quotes a curious memorandum made by Sir John Howard at the time: "The king owe me for all the plate that the queen was served with on the day of her coronation."

The next Queen-Consort was the Lady Anne Neville, contracted to Henry VI's son, the young Prince of Wales, who had fallen at Tewkesbury. She afterwards became the bride of Richard Crookback, whose splendid Coronation she shared. Both are said to have been stripped to the waist for the anointing; but Strickland, with a feminine regard for the proprieties, proceeds

to qualify this.* Queens-Consort were anointed on the head and the breast, their gowns being so fashioned as to open easily and decently. How charming is the injunction of the *Liber Regalis* for the Queen to go to her crowning in a tunic and robe of purple, heavily fringed, and with her hair dishevelled—in the old phrase—about her shoulders, but confined by a gemmed circlet. This was removed to make way for the unction and crowning.

* And rightly. The outer robes were removed and unction administered through vents in the under apparel. (*Little Device.*)



National Portrait Gallery, London.

Queen Elizabeth of York, whose Coronation was the occasion of a determined raid by souvenir hunters which ended in tragedy.

(From a painting by an unknown artist.)

Her Majesty!

Richard III and his Consort's Coronation was graced by the presence of no less than three Duchesses of Norfolk. At the banquet, the Consort (Anne) sat on the left hand of the table, Richard being in the middle. "On every side of her stoode a countess holding a cloth of pleasaunce when she list to drinke."

At the end of the Banquet the Lord Mayor performed his service, and had of each of them a cup of gold, with a cover to it, for his fee. And as it was then "darkenight," the King and Queen "returned to their chambers, and every man to his lodging."

Traditional purple was worn by Elizabeth of York for her Coronation in 1487. This was getting on for two years after her marriage to Henry VII. Apart from any other reason, the delay tended to dispel the idea that the Tudor was in any wise dependent on his wife's place in the succession. The Procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey was marred by an unfortunate incident. The new bay cloth laid for her to walk over was seized upon by *souvenir* hunters. So many rushed forward to cut the cloth that "certin persones in the presse were slaync; and the order of the ladies following the queene were broken and distroubled."

But two of Henry VIII's six Consorts were crowned: Katherine of Aragon, and her gay rival, Anne Bullen. Katherine was crowned with her husband in June, 1509, when the highest honours were paid to the Queen,

who was destined to die in neglect more than a quarter of a century later. In the "Recognition" Procession from the Tower she was followed by the female nobility in cars known as "whirlcotes." She herself was carried in a litter, the usual conveyance of Queens on such occasions.

Poor Katherine was sorrowed and wronged, but as popular interest will always focus on the fair and frail Anne Bullen, I propose to say rather more of the latter Queen's Coronation. This was in 1533.

Anne voyaged by water from Greenwich to the Tower, where Knights of the Bath were created. Her "Recognition" Procession was punctuated by "marvailous connyng pageautes." Among these were representations of Apollo and the Muses, and, in compliment to the Queen's name, St. Anne with her children. The Three Graces were upon Cornhill, and the Cardinal Virtues in Fleet Street.

Everything was very richly done, as anyone can tell by reading Shakespeare's (and Fletcher's) play of *King Henry VIII*.

"Heaven bless thee!
Thou hast the sweetest face I ever look'd on.
Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel;
Our king has all the Indies in his arms,
And more and richer, when he strains that lady:
I cannot blame his conscience."

And yet, if we are to credit one account of her, Anne was rather sallow, had a projecting tooth, a malformed finger, and a



National Portrait Gallery, London.

Anne Bullen, who, with Katherine of Aragon, shared the distinction of being crowned Queen of England to King Henry VIII.

(From a painting by an unknown artist.)

Coronation Cavalcade

strawberry mole on her throat. Some women can be very fascinating. It is by no means invariably the sheerly beautiful that are the most attractive.

At the Coronation itself St. Edward's Crown



National Portrait Gallery, London.

Caroline of Anspach—Queen of King George II—wearing her
gorgeous Coronation Robes.
(Studio of Charles Jervas.)

was placed on her head, but was removed, and substituted by one made specially for her.

At the Banquet, Cranmer, the "archbishoppe" of Canterbury, sat on Anne's right. "And in the myddest, betwene the archbishoppe and the countesse of Oxford,

stode the erle of Oxford with a white stafie all dinner time." King Henry, with various ambassadors, watched the proceedings from an adjacent closet. *Largesse*, wafers, hippocras, and the "voyde of spice and comfettes" concluded the Banquet. So, the Lord Mayor having performed his service, "bearyng his cuppe in his hande, with his brethren went through the hal to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke."

Next Queen-Consort to be crowned was James I's wife, Anne of Denmark, who followed the old tradition of wearing her hair about her shoulders, as enjoined by the *Liber Regalis*. Thereafter occurs another lapse until Mary of Modena was crowned, with James II in 1685. If not an outstanding figure, Mary of Modena is interesting to us from the Diadem and State Crown still in the Regalia. A great deal is known of this Queen. Among other personal matters, she disliked rouge, and refused to use it until ordered to do so by James. Strickland gives an anecdote of how one of her directors noted the change. Mary had remarked that her pallor rendered it necessary. "Madame," said Father Seraphin, "I would rather see your Majesty yellow, or even green, than rouged."

For the Coronation the peeresses were required to attend wearing robes and coronets of their respective degrees. All the Queen's Ornaments were specially made. She wore purple velvet robes edged with miniver, looped and tasselled with pearls. Among other ceremonies, that of the herb-women, who strewed flowers before the Procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, was resuscitated.

Of later Queens-Consort, one of the shrewdest and ablest was Queen Charlotte, wife of King George III; one of the most dramatic, Caroline of Brunswick, who failed to attend King George IV's Coronation, as told in Chapter XV. Londoners should remember with gratitude Queen Caroline of Anspach, George II's spouse, to whom they owe, in some sort, the Serpentine

Her Majesty!

"River," formed out of a chain of small ponds threaded together by the West Bourne.

Referring to George II's Coronation, Lord Hervey says: "The dress of the Queen . . . was as fine as the accumulated riches of the city and suburbs could make it; for besides her own jewels (which were a great number, and very valuable), she had on her head and on her shoulders all the pearls she could borrow of the ladies of quality at one end of the town, and on her petticoat all the diamonds she could hire of the Jews and jewellers at the other."

One of the most lovely of all our Consorts was undoubtedly Queen Alexandra, who was crowned with King Edward VII in 1902. As a princess of the great House of Oldenburg—to which H.R.H. Princess Marina, Duchess of Kent, also belongs—she once again linked our Royal Family with the lands of the Norsemen. "Saxon, Norman, and Dane are we," wrote Tennyson in an oft-quoted jingle. Whether or not we regard—as I fear that I do—that poem with singular distaste, the fact of a fresh link between England and the realm whence part of our race is derived, is a matter of historic interest and value. Queen Alexandra was crowned by Archbishop MacLagan, of York, father of Sir Eric MacLagan, Director of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Just as the "right of Canterbury" has given to its Metropolitan the distinction of crowning the Monarch (though there have been certain exceptions), so the Archprelate of York has acquired the honour of placing her Crown on the brow of the Queen.

Alexandra Rose Day (June 24) was established to mark the 50th year of the Queen's residence in Britain. It remains her greatest memorial.

In books of this nature it is customary to make complimentary allusions to members of the Royal Family. May I say, therefore, that whatever I have written in such wise has been a matter of conviction. I am an ordinary, unprivileged subject, making no pretension to "inside knowledge" of the

House of Windsor; but some things are plain to any observant spectator. May I, therefore, respectfully state my considered belief that Her Majesty Queen Mary is one of the outstanding Consorts in the national history. Were the secret annals of the Court to be known, one might well say more. King George V was a Monarch of consider-



Photo : W. and D. Downey.

Queen Alexandra, whose marriage to King Edward VII renewed the ties between the Royal Family and Scandinavia. This is said to have been the Queen's favourite portrait.

able consequence, and in Queen Mary he found an ideal helpmeet. Extremely knowledgeable and sympathetic, Queen Mary can claim a strong degree of clear-sightedness, with an aptitude for meeting any situation. Impressively regal in carriage, she possesses a rare personality, forceful yet amazingly tactful. That great depth of memory which is, one might say, a perquisite of the Royal Family, is hers to a remarkable extent. No other Consort has known more of the arts and crafts of the past than does she; indeed,

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as connoisseur, she occupies a unique position on the table of Queens. Moreover, as a direct descendant of King George III, Queen Mary is more than a member of the Royal Family by connexion and adoption. Things which we humbler folk learn as a matter of research, are known to Her Majesty as household traditions—and in much fuller detail than we can ever expect to obtain. Things, also, for which no accessible reference exists.

For the Coronation of King George V and Queen Mary in 1911, Her Majesty expressed a wish for British and Empire-made fabrics to be employed. This excellent policy Queen Mary has consistently prosecuted to the enormous advantage of Empire trade. At this, as at earlier Coronations when a Queen has been present—at any rate, back to the time of Mary of Modena—the crowning of the Consort was the signal for the peeresses to don their coronets of rank.

For the forthcoming Coronation, this will be done, and peeresses will not wear tiaras throughout the ceremony. Now a tiara is in itself a species of coronet which, properly considered, should be laid aside before a crown of estate is assumed. Yet at one or two Coronations there has been seen the extraordinary spectacle of peeresses

donning coronets over their tiaras. Save in such case as the Papal Tiara, where the reduplication is purposeful and hallowed by long-standing usage, such fancies should not be tolerated.

There is now no "Queen Edith's Crown" to be placed on the brow of a Consort.

The old one was inventoried in 1649, and lost in the Parliamentarian holocaust. It was later replaced by another, worn by Mary of Modena at her actual crowning, being exchanged after the ceremony, for her State Crown, already discussed. Unless these two have been confused, the "new" "Queen Edith's Crown" has also been broken up, and no Ornament now bears the name.

In general design, the "new" "Queen Edith's Crown" was more or less similar to Charles II's "Crown of St. Edward," and

seemingly bore no stylistic relation to its predecessor, save in the detail that it was arched.

As we have seen in Chapter XIII, the present strictly ordered system for the robes and coronets of peers and peeresses is really of post-Restoration date. In 1685 instructions issued by the Earl Marshal defined exactly the nature of the peeresses' visible attire, which it may be interesting to indicate here. A Baroness was to have a train one yard on the ground, the ermine



Photo: W. and D. Downey.
Her Majesty Queen Mary, who has passed through troublous times with a dignity and fortitude worthy of her most illustrious predecessors.

Her Majesty!

cape powdered with two bars, the long mantle of crimson velvet with an inch broad ermine edging, unpowdered. Her surcoat, also of crimson velvet, was to be made "straight-Body'd, and Clasp'd before," edged with ermine two inches broad, and scalloped down the sides from below the girdle, with a train a little shorter than the long robe. The velvet sleeves were scalloped, edged with ermine, fringed with gold or silver and reached a little below the shoulder; and the cap was to reach only a little above the rim of the Coronet.

Peeresses of higher rank were distinguished by various details. For instance, a Viscountess had a train $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards on the ground; Countess, $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards; Marchioness, $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards; Duchess, 2 yards. The number of ermine bands differed, being $2\frac{1}{2}$ rows on the cape, for a Viscountess; 3 rows for a Coun-

tess; $3\frac{1}{2}$ rows for a Marchioness; and 4 rows for a Duchess. Countesses and upwards wore their surcoats "close Bodyd," and clasped before. In all cases, the surcoats were worn open in front, to display the petticoats, which were of cloth of silver, or any other white stuff, laced or embroidered "according to every ones Fancy." The mantles were made to hang back, fastened on each shoulder with cords of silver or gold, suitable to the fringe, with a tassel of the same hanging down on each side to the waist.

At King George VI's Coronation peeresses will wear robes embodying traditional features, though modified in cut and certain minor details from those of 1685. For instance, the depth of the edging on a Baroness' mantle has grown to 2 inches; but the length of the trains remains unchanged in every case.



Robes of crimson velvet with narrow edgings and capes of miniver to be worn by Viscountesses over court dress and with tiaras, as originally planned for King Edward VIII's cancelled Coronation. For the crowning of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, full robes and coronets were indicated.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Royal Houses

OUR Royal Family is rooted in the ancient Anglo-Saxon House of Cerdic: Kings of Wessex before they were Kings of England.

That means a lineage, step by step, from the 6th century after the Birth of Christ; or the 5th century, if the original Cerdic were an historical being.

For a long time, an idea has existed that the line could be produced to a very much earlier date, to a period long anterior to the deified Woden, who was claimed by many of the Saxons and Danes as their personal ancestor. Nor does the matter rest there. By a series of ascents, direct kinship has been asserted with David, King of Israel and Judah, and his forebears as set forth in the Old Testament.

Such ideas were afoot long before the British-Israel theory, as now existing, was promulgated. What that eminently sincere body of believers has done, on the genealogical side, is to crystallize a mass of part historical, part legendary, lore, some of which was familiar in the Middle Ages, if not earlier. I am aware that the British-Israel theory as a whole goes a good deal further than this, and that it is, doubtless, highly satisfactory to such as would interpret Prayer Book allusions to God's "chosen people" in a racial, rather than a solely ecclesiastical, sense. And it lends much more than symbolic importance to the celebrated anthem sung at Coronations: "Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet anointed Solomon king. . . ."—which has been perpetuated from the first known form of the English Coronation service.

It is not my business to discuss the British-Israel theory *in toto*, and if I do not

include their impressive pedigrees here it is because they involve genealogical problems of a controversial nature. Ascents are shown by way of the Kings of Wessex, the old Scots and Irish kings, the ancestors of the Tudors and Guelphs, and so forth: all leading back, in the long run, to Judah.

One period at which pedigrees of this sort were undeniably popular, was the Tudor. A fitting example is provided by Arundel MS. LIII, in the College of Arms. To remove misconception, it should be emphasized that this intriguing document dates from about A.D. 1500: a detail which mitigates its value as a record of events purporting to have happened thousands of years before the birth of Our Lord. Yet this pedigree does not neglect to inform us that Adam "dyed of the gowte." To which one may add, without irreverence, that as Adam was then 930 years old, he had to die of something.

The old Kings of Wessex (and of certain other realms, for that matter) traced their descent from the deified Woden, himself a scion of the boy Schef (or Sceaff), who arrived at Saxony in an oarless boat. Sundry attempts have been made to carry the lineage back further, with rather surprising results. One of these derives Schef from Adam, by way of a daughter of Priam; another asserts that Schef, a later son of Noah, was born in the Ark—a development of the oarless boat legend. But it is not until we reach the 6th century after Christ that the pedigree of the Kings of Wessex receives the undivided approbation of modern historians.

According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, two ealdormen, Cerdic, and his son Cynric,

The Royal Houses

arrived in England in the year 495. These, by ancient tradition, were the joint founders of the royal house of Wessex, since known as the House of Cerdic. Unfortunately, there are several difficulties in the way of accepting this statement, not the least being that Cerdic is probably not a Saxon name, but a Celtic. For a concise discussion of all the objections, Sir Charles Oman's *England before the Norman Conquest* should be consulted.

It is uncertain, therefore, whether Cerdic and Cynric are historical beings at all, though the existence of the latter's "son," Ceawlin, is freely acknowledged. Ceawlin probably became king of Wessex in 560 and from him King George VI is demonstrably descended. A powerful ruler, Ceawlin renewed hostilities against the Britons, which had petered out after the slaughter at Mount Badon, doubtfully assigned to 516. It was at the battle of *Mons Badonicus* that the (possibly) Roman - Briton Artorius, whom we know by the name of "King" Arthur, is said to have dropped nearly 1,000 men by the might of his arm.

We can be forgiven for regarding Arthur's "bag" suspiciously, but that the day was a fell one for the Saxons is certain. However, before Ceawlin and his line were deprived of Wessex by a junior branch of the House of Cerdic, he gave the Britons a deal of cause to respect his martial prowess.

Of his descendants before the time of Egbert, most memorable are the Wessex Kings Ceadwalla, the friend of St. Wilfred,

and his distant cousin, Ine; both mighty men, and Ine celebrated, in addition, for the framing of a code of laws. But the time has come to quit connected narrative for the simpler form of a chart pedigree.



Photo : W. F. Taylor.

A glimpse of Tintagel Castle—on the rocky Cornish coast—the legendary birthplace of King Arthur, a figure of romance founded upon vague memories of the Roman-British hero, Artorius. The existing ruins are mediæval and many centuries later than Artorius' time.

Only embracing what is strictly necessary to a fuller understanding of the kinships mentioned in this book, the chart is reduced to the barest essentials. Better than any narrative, it gives a striking impression of the continuity of the monarchy in England and Great Britain.

CHAPTER XXIX

Blood Royal in the Nation

OUTSIDE the Royal Family, there are literally thousands of British subjects who can show a descent from some bygone royalty or other. A tiny proportion of these are in the male descent from kings, begotten in that unofficial

manner which gave no offence to our fore-fathers. It is, for example, a fact that the Duke of Beaufort is descended in the male line from Edward III's son, "old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster." Though, as that prince of essayists, "The Londoner," has so charmingly put it, "here and there a marriage certificate is wanting in this very stately pedigree," the fact of the kinship has always been recognized. From this house came that celebrated Old Westminster, the 1st Lord Raglan, who lost an arm at Waterloo, and lived on to command the British Army in the Crimea. To this day, the Dukes of Beaufort and the Lords Raglan bear for their coat armour the old shield of England with the lilies of France in its first quarter: a shield differenced only by a *compony* border. At King George V's Coronation, the Sword *Curtana* was carried by the then Duke of Beaufort, whose son, the 10th Duke, was appointed Master of the Horse in 1936.

To-day, several eminent people can trace their paternal descent from one of our Kings who begot no heir to the throne. Rumour, ever ready to improve upon fact, has credited the second of our Charleses with no less than



Among the descendants of King Charles II are to be numbered the Dukes of St. Albans. Here the 2nd Duke is seen bearing the Queen's Crown at the Coronation of King George II.

(From an engraving by T. Medland, after T. Stothard, published in 1793.)

Blood Royal in the Nation

53 children. It is at least certain that he was far from lacking a brood. Among his descendants are numbered the Dukes of Grafton* and St. Albans, Lord Southampton, and the Rt. Hon. E. A. Fitzroy, Speaker of the House of Commons. It is agreeable to know that the blood male of the Stewarts still courses in veins of high honour. And in none more noble than those of the Duke of Alba, who, though a Spanish grandee, traces his line from the dashing Marshal Berwick, a son of our King James II.

Charles II's Fitzroys and Beauclerk's bear the Royal Arms of England, as used by the Stewarts, but debruised by a *baston*, which novelists persist in describing as a "bar sinister." No such charge can possibly exist. A bar, of its nature, is a horizontal charge, quite different from anything in the likeness of a *bend*.

A *baston* again slants across the shield of the Earl of Munster, which, in other respects, is that of his ancestor William IV. Here, still, the inescutcheon of Hanover is seen, though it disappeared from the Royal Arms when Victoria became Queen of these realms.

Apart from such lineages as these (which in nowise affect the succession) there are any amount of legitimate descents from, mainly, the Tudor or (so-called) "Plantagenet" monarchs. That such are not in the male line, but, often, through many generations of women, does not affect their validity.

Take, for example, the Princess Mary, younger daughter of Henry VII. She was one of the matrimonial prizes of Europe. As a result, she was married to the French King, Louis XIII, who was then in a loathsome state of disease.



Mary, Queen of France, daughter of King Henry VII of England, and Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, whom she married after the death of her husband, Louis XII.

(From an engraving by Trotter, published in 1794.)

According to the tale, this Mary Tudor was a wife no more than in name to her moribund spouse. In a few months he died, and Mary, having wedded once for the good of her country, married again for her own satisfaction.

She had not to look for a suitor. Already she was desperately smitten with the gallant Charles Brandon (Duke of Suffolk), whom malicious report would describe as being her bastard half-brother.

That is as may be; at best it is no more than a scandalous yarn; but the fact remains

* The young 9th Duke of Grafton, well known as a racing motorist, died in August, 1936, from injuries received in a crash at the Limerick International Grand Prix.

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that the French queen determined on marrying her Brandon, and did so.

The result of this hectic matchmaking was a son (who died young) and two daughters. One of them, Frances, was the mother of Lady Jane Grey.

That was by her first husband, Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, who went to the block for his share in Wyatt's Rebellion. According to Davey (*The Sisters of Lady Jane Grey*), Frances was already on more than



Frances, Duchess of Suffolk and mother of Lady Jane Grey, with Adrian Stokes, her secretary and groom of chambers, who became her second husband.

(From the engraving by G. Vertue, after Hans Eworth.)

friendly terms with young Mr. Adrian Stock (or Stokes), her secretary and groom of the chambers. Her subsequent marriage to Stock was deemed most unsuitable; and Davey mentions a contemporary view that it may have been partly inspired by a wish to exclude herself from the dangers attendant on her place in the succession to the throne. When Frances and Stock were painted together by Hans Eworth, shortly before her death in 1559, she was then in her 43rd year, he in his twenties; they might pass for mother and son. This, the "Wynne-

Finch" portrait, was a prominent feature of the Exhibition of British Art at Burlington House in 1934. It is also well known from Vertue's engraving, an impression of which used to hang in the home of the late Adrian Stokes, R.A.

Here, in Frances' case, was again romance of a sort, though less vivid than that of her second daughter, Katherine Grey. The latter's espousal of the Earl of Hertford was so secretly managed that the poor lady was quite unable to prove it when necessity arose. She was clapped in the Tower for being with a child that was really legitimate—and there had another, for her husband had contrived to visit her! Elizabeth's wrath then descended on the pair in full torrent; and it was not until the Restoration, nearly a century after Katherine's death, that the marriage was fully recognized.

Now, all things considered, this was not a particularly promising branch of the Royal Family. Death, sickness, intrigue played disastrous havoc with it. Yet in 1903 Ruvigny estimated that there were over ten thousand descendants living (or lately so), of Charles Brandon and his amorous princess.

Nor was there any pretence that the sum was complete.*

Of how it stands now, I do not pretend to have knowledge. But it is quite safe to say that were it added to the number of those deriving from other scions of royalty, the total would be very considerable. Never

* Remember that the ten thousand applies alone to the scions of this particular couple. For the extensive number of other royal descents, Ruvigny's various works should be consulted, *inter alia*. For the purpose of this chapter, his *The Blood Royal of Britain* (1903) has been utilized.

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while kingdoms last, or the hope of them endures, need the ancient House of Cerdic lack representatives.

Besides traceable descendants, there must be any amount who have lost all count of their kinship with the ancient kings of this realm. Some are, no doubt, in very poor circumstances. But, whether or not, you can never be sure but what the person next to you in train, 'bus, or cinema, may be a remote descendant of princes.

This is immensely important. It shows that the Coronation may possess an additional, peculiar significance for many of us—probably for far greater numbers than can ever know of their tenuous link with regality.

Blood Royal will course richly in true Royal Veins at the Coronation. But not only in the grave Abbey Church will all its inheritors be. Many a watcher in the thronged streets has just a tincture of that same precious fluid.

In more than a general sense are we "members of one family."

At the head of it all is enthroned King George VI.

Third Monarch of the House of Windsor, he is descended in a right line from King George I, who was a great-grandson of King James I. Through the latter is traced an uninterrupted descent from Tudor, "Plantagenet" and Norman kings, and back to the ancient House of Cerdic. Also, for that matter, to old Scottish kings; to St. Louis of France; to the Emperor Charlemagne; to Frederick Barbarossa; to the founder of the Imperial House of Hapsburg; and to certain of the Emperors of the East.

To these and to others.

So noble a past demands a like present and a still greater future. In the glories of a Coronation, remembrance, recognition, aspiration are crystallized in one solemn moment.

The King is King at once by the will of the Nation and because, beyond any manner of doubt, he belongs to our old royal stock. The British are famed for their habit of compromise. Happy is that which we have evolved from the elective and hereditary principles.

CHAPTER XXX

The Eve and the Day

IN writing a book like this, an author's difficulty is to restrain his enthusiasm. This or that episode, this or that item of ritual, suggests divagations whereon it would be most agreeable to linger.

Yet, however attractive are these to the student, to the man in the street they are apt to prove cumbersome. What he desires is a cut-and-dried statement of matters which, of their nature, tend to complexity. In alluding to some of the pre-Coronation events of a reign, description of the Proclamation ceremony should properly be prefaced by a history of the relations between The Crown and the City of London, and the privileges so jealously guarded by that metropolis.

Here I propose no more than to name a few obvious facts. By long-standing custom, when the Monarch makes ceremonial entry to the City, he is met at one of its boundaries, where the City Sword is delivered to him as to a feudal lord, and directly returned to the custody of the Lord Mayor. And when His Majesty's Heralds seek to enter the City to proclaim his accession to power, their way is ceremonially barred until their errand has been officially reported to the Chief Magistrate, who formally sanctions their admittance.

These (and other) evidences of the state-within-a-state constitution of the City are of profound interest. And as an early ceremonial event of King George VI's reign was necessarily his proclamation as King, some brief discussion of the formalities cannot be ignored.

Of all the stirring scenes that then ensued, that involving the admittance of the Heralds to the City of London is the most notable. To eye-witnesses of this event in 1936, an account of one of its predecessors is of obvious value. And since Robert Huish's *Authentic History of George IV's Coronation* lies to my hand, it serves as well as another to demonstrate the basic resemblances and superficial differences between the two functions.

See the Coronation proclaimed on August 1, 1820. "The persons appointed to take part in the ceremony assembled at 11 o'clock, in Old Palace-yard, and were marshalled by Sir George Naylor [sic] in the order in which they were to proceed.

"The crowd collected on the occasion was by no means so numerous as might have been expected, and seemed principally to have been formed from persons accidentally drawn to the spot from the military parade which was made, a whole regiment of the Horse Guards Royal being in attendance. At twelve o'clock precisely, the cavalcade prepared to move. The heralds, who were mounted upon horses belonging to the band of one of the regiments of the Horse Guards, came forth from the Courtyard in front of the Speaker's house, and having arrived in front of the great gate of Westminster-hall, were received by a flourishing of trumpets.

"Mr. G. M. Leake, the Chester Herald, then took off his hat, and his example being followed by the other official persons in attendance, he read the Proclamation. At the conclusion, the household trumpets,

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accompanied by the drums, played the popular air of 'God Save the King.'

"The whole now moved on in the following order, the band playing the jubilee-march:

The High Constable of Westminster.

Two Horse Guards.

One Horse Guard.

Four Farriers of the Horse Guards.

The Trumpets of the Horse Guards.

A troop of Horse Guards.

Eight Marshal's men, in full uniform, with their staves, on foot.

Household Band, on foot, and in their state uniforms.

"Six Deputy Serjeants at Arms (Messrs. Chas. Brown, Struble, Gardner, Ruddock, Brown, and Nost) on horseback, attired in full-dress Court coats and waistcoats, and cocked hats, wearing also swords, and having over their shoulders silver chains, to which were appended the order of St. George, and the Royal arms. The remainder of their costume consisted of coloured breeches and top boots, which, when contrasted with the full-dress coats, had a most singular appearance, and produced a good deal of risibility among the spectators. Men were employed to walk by the side of these persons to carry their silver gilt maces.

G. M. Leake, Esq. Chester Herald. Pursuivant.

Joseph Hawkes, Esq. Richmond Herald. Pursuivant.

James Cuthro, Esq. Somerset Herald. Pursuivant.

"These gentlemen were covered with their official heraldic dresses. The procession was closed by a numerous body of the Life Guards.

"The whole proceeded slowly to Charing Cross, and up the Strand, till they arrived at a short distance from Temple Bar, the gates of which had been shut.* An order was now given to halt, and Blue-Mantle (Mr. Wood), pursuivant, attended by eight Horse Guards, rode up to the Bar, and having rapped, the gates were opened by

* Old Temple Bar was pulled down in 1878, and re-erected at Theobald's Park ten years later. The place of its gates is now taken by ropes in the City ceremonial of barring the Heralds, as still practised on its original site.



Old Temple Bar—scene of the ceremonial barring of the Heralds when seeking to enter the City of London—photographed before its removal from Fleet Street to Theobald's Park, Hertfordshire, in 1878.

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Mr. Wontner, the City Marshal. Mr. Wontner then asked his business? when he replied that he demanded admission to read his Majesty's proclamation relative to the royal Coronation. Mr. Wontner shut the gate, and immediately joined the Lord Mayor, who was in attendance in his state carriage, and communicated to his lordship the purport of Blue-Mantle's demand. The Lord Mayor directed that Blue-Mantle might be conducted to him. Mr. Wontner, immediately rode back, and again opening the gate, requested Blue-Mantle to advance alone. This he did, and was forthwith introduced to the Lord Mayor, who asked him personally the object of his mission. Blue-Mantle replied, as he had to Mr. Wontner, and handed to his lordship the Order in Council for making the proclamation of the King's Coronation. The Lord Mayor, under the sanction of this order, immediately ordered that the gates should

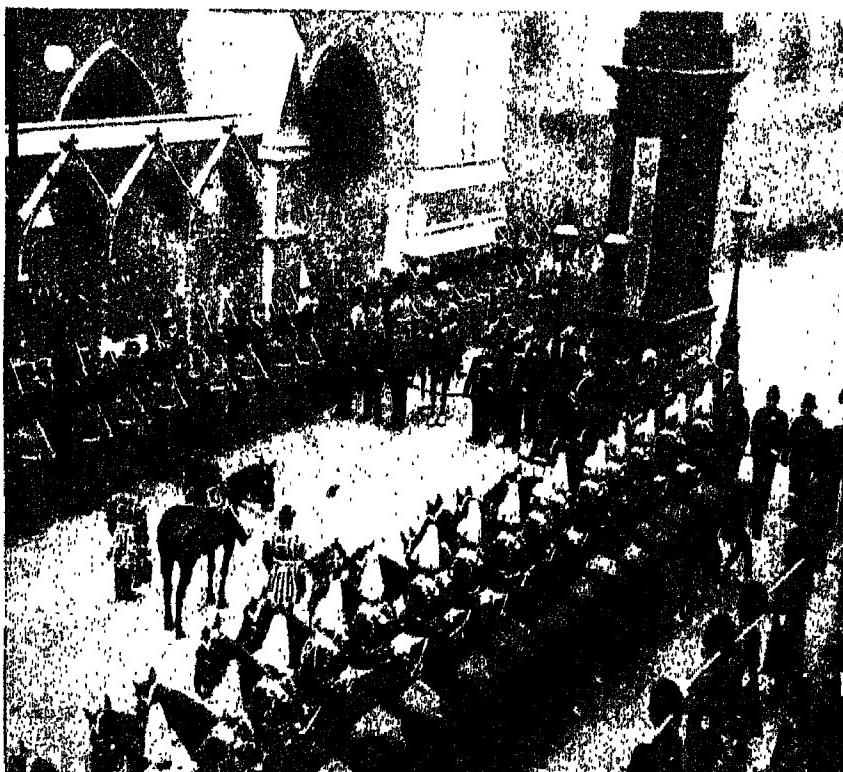
be thrown open. This order was obeyed, and the procession advanced, in the manner already described, to the end of Chancery-lane, where the Richmond Herald read the proclamation, under similar circumstances to those which attended the reading in Palace-yard.

"The procession in its further progress to the Royal Exchange was followed by the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and several Aldermen, in their carriages. The reading was repeated at the Royal Exchange. The procession then went on to the pump at Aldgate, and returned through Fenchurch-street and Lombard-street to the Mansion-House, where the ceremony was concluded. Every thing was conducted with the greatest order and regularity."

How various monarchs spent the night before their Coronations is another subject full of possibilities. By way of a precaution against the fatigues and excitements of the ceremony,

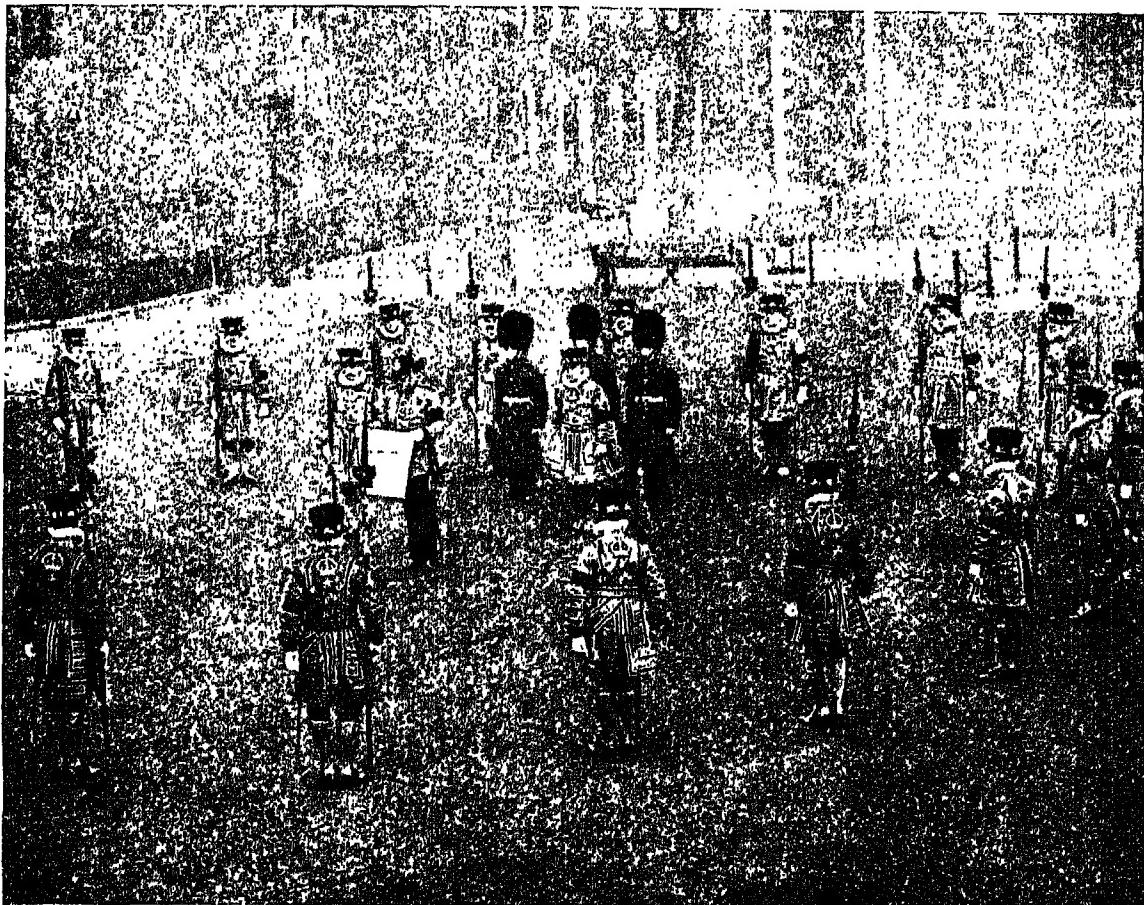
George IV, who lay at the Speaker's house on the night of July 18-19, 1821, elected to be cupped or bled; and other monarchs have passed their vigils according to their respective tastes and inclinations. Both the retiring of the King and his rising on the morrow became invested with a ceremonial complexion. From sundry sources it is evident that the apparelling of the bed-chamber was early a matter for concern, and even the making of the royal bed was far from possessing the simplicity of the average household's daily task.

How this office of



Barring the Heralds at King George V's proclamation on May 10, 1910. Since the removal of Old Temple Bar, the ceremony has been performed on the site with ropes held by police constables.

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Proclaiming King Edward VIII on Tower Green, January 22, 1936. The Governor is encircled by Yeomen Warders of the Tower, not to be confused—though their dress is nearly similar—with the Yeomen of the Guard.

making the "Kyng's Bed" was practised in Henry VII's time is amusingly revealed in a transcript of a manuscript, which shows in its opening words that we are dealing with a four-poster of the period.

"A Yeoman or Groome of the wardrobe must bring in the stuffs, holde the syd curtens and the foot curtens. A Yeoman of the crowne to lep upon the bedd and roll hym up and down and assay the litter, then ley on the fether bed and bet it welle and make it evyne and smothe; then shall yomen of the stiffe take the ffustian and cast it upon the bedd, then shall squyers for the body ley hond thereon and ley it straight upon the bedd without any wrinkle, and the shet in same wise, then take both shetes and fustian by the bordure and put

them in under the fether bede at both sides and at the feet also, then ley on the oy^r shete and go to Bedd's hedd and shake down the bedd till they come down twis or thris, then lay on the toy^r stuff: a fustian above a paire of martrons, and lay above. Then rolle down the bed the space of an ell, then lett the yoman take the pillowes and bete them well w^t y^r honds and cast them up to the squyeres, and let them ley them on the Bedd as it plessethe the King's Grace, then take an hed schet of reynes and put the one sid of the schet vnder the pillows and let the other sid be full. An hed shet of Ermine lay it abouenne, then take a shete of reynes and couyre the bed ower and owyre on everysid; then the uscher knyt the curtuyns togedure, a squyere



KING GEORGE V RECEIVING THE CITY SWORD AT TEMPLE BAR
When the Sovereign enters the City of London in state, he halts at the boundary and receives the City Sword from the Lord Mayor into whose keeping he duly returns it.
This ceremonial incident is here shown on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee celebrations in May, 1935.

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to cast holy water on the Bedd"—and then "shall all y^t were at the making of the bedd have bred and ale and wync."*

Nor was The King left alone to repose on the eve of his Coronation. When George IV retired, the Lord Great Chamberlain and his Secretary, took up their station on one side of the chamber, and the Usher of the Black Rod on the other. There they were technically supposed to remain until morning.

On rising, the King would be clothed by the Lord Great Chamberlain, who, as previously noted, claimed among other matters, the entire contents of the bed-chamber as part of his fee. It is for this reason, if for no other, that we find special furniture being ordered for the King's sleeping apartment. In George IV's case, Huish says: "His Majesty's own couch bed was brought from Carlton-house, and placed in the tapestry-room [of the Speaker's house], looking over the Thames. Furniture, however, had been ordered as usual on the Coronation of a King of England, as it is the perquisite of the Lord Great Chamberlain."

Long before the King arose, his subjects were afoot. Indeed, many of them never went to bed. For the sake of continuity, I am keeping George IV's Coronation to the fore in this chapter, and on that occasion, "the rattling of carriages, the busy hum of men, and the cheerful note of preparation" turned night into day at Westminster.

During the evening "hundreds of well-dressed persons were seen battling with the crowd to get to their respective lodgings, which they had engaged for the occasion. In many cases this task was accomplished with difficulty, from the prodigious crowd which was everywhere assembled.

"The morning was ushered in by discharges of artillery in the Park, and from a man-of-war brig, and other boats stationed in the river." Since few in the neighbourhood can have secured anything resembling a decent night's rest, such orchestration can scarcely have mattered. In any

case, there was nothing untoward in the occurrence; the batteries of the Tower have been apt to bark out at such times.

As early as one in the morning, ticket holders for the Abbey or Westminster Hall had commenced their approach. From Charing Cross two streams of carriages were moving on the marked-out routes to the same buildings. "Through the grey mist of morning, the gay apparel of the inmates was visible, and excited sensations not to be described."

Pedestrians thronged the streets on their way to take up positions; and at about half-past five the Lord Mayor of London embarked in his state barge at Blackfriars Bridge to be rowed to Westminster in great array. By six the traffic jam in the Westminster streets was complete for a time, and long before this hour many persons of rank had abandoned their carriages, and mingled with the throng in their eagerness to reach their destinations. Rich robes, glittering diamonds, and waving plumes were thus higgarmugger with the soberer dress of the multitude.

By six, as we have seen, things were more than busy, and thenceforth they became busier than ever. At that hour the Duchesses of Gloucester, Kent and Clarence arrived, not having had to make such speed to reach their places as those ladies who had been on the spot since three. Foreign ambassadors and their suites were entering, and before eight o'clock most of the persons who had to walk in the Procession to the Abbey were assembled.

At ten precisely King George IV entered and took his seat in the Hall, thereafter to proceed to his crowning.

Not only is the Coronation ceremony fatiguing to its central figure and the other leading participants in the rite. The spectators seated in the galleries, etc., must face weary hours of waiting, relieved by the ever-changing pageant of new arrivals and, finally, by the splendour of the great event

* Hon. Mrs. Armytage: *Old Court Customs* (1883).

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itself. Despite the glory of the occasion, it is in no wise disparaging to their loyal enthusiasm to remark that many of the vast congregation are tired out before the day is over. Such is the case nowadays, and in George IV's time it must have been even more trying.

I do not wish unduly to draw upon the record by that amusing writer, Huish, but his account of the conclusion of "Prinney's" Coronation gives a very good picture of what then occurred.

After the ceremony George retired to his Traverse in the Confessor's Chapel, where he removed his Vestments and donned his State Crown and Robes of Estate. "During his absence, which lasted about ten minutes, the Abbey became literally deserted. As soon as his Majesty disappeared, the throng began to crowd out of the church. The peeresses departed forthwith; the box of the foreign ministers was emptied in a moment; the musicians and principal singers abruptly left the choir; and when the King returned, he had empty benches covered with dirt and litter, on the one hand, and the backs of his courtiers expediting their exits with a *saute-gui-pent-like* rapidity, presented themselves to his view upon the other. This mode of clearing the Abbey may probably have been found necessary as a measure of convenience, but it certainly was a most unpicturesque arrangement. It had the appearance of a want of due respect to the Sovereign. His Majesty, however, though much encumbered with his splendid attire, moved forward with great seeming good humour, and shook hands with the Princess Mary as she left the Abbey."

The Princess Mary mentioned was George IV's sister, the Duchess of Gloucester.

To add to the general fatigue there was the Banquet in Westminster Hall. At the conclusion of this: "New difficulties now arose from the time which necessarily elapsed before the carriages, which it had been arranged were to come up in turn, and by a particular course, could arrive.

All the rooms and passages around the House of Lords were filled with persons of the highest distinction, of both sexes, all manifesting the greatest impatience to escape from a place which had now lost all its attractions, and which presented no object to cheer their drooping spirits. The unusual early hour at which it had become necessary for them to rise in the morning, in order to enable them to be present at the ceremonies, added to the labours and privations through which they had gone during the day, had reduced them to a complete state of exhaustion, and all the ordinary punctilios of society were of necessity forgotten. Peers and peeresses, judges, and privy councillors, knights of all orders, and commoners of all degrees, were alike worn out by fatigue, and lay promiscuously, some on sofas, some on chairs, and a still greater number on the matted floors of the rooms and passages in which they happened to have sought refuge. Many, while in this situation, were overtaken by sleep, and in this happy state of forgetfulness, scenes were presented extremely at variance with the splendid and dignified spectacle which had been but a few hours before exhibited in the presence of the Sovereign, and in which these very individuals had borne so prominent a part. Every polite attention was paid by the Lord Great Chamberlain, Mr. Fellowes, his secretary, and the attendants under their direction; but these persons having been without rest for the two nights preceding, they were ill calculated to relieve distresses in which they were themselves participants. It was three o'clock in the morning before the whole of the company had departed,—and at that hour several of the ladies were so completely worn out, that it became necessary to carry them to their carriages."

Let us leave them sleeping, and consider a detail which has so far been but casually mentioned. We have read, in Chapter XVIII, Haydon the painter's eulogy of the grace of the Herb-women, who strewed

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Miss Fellowes, the King's Herb-woman, with her six "elegantly dressed" maids, at the Coronation of King George IV.
(From Nayler's "*The Coronation of King George IV.*" 1839.)

flowers before the Foot Procession between Westminster Hall and the Abbey. It is interesting to contrast their lightsomely elegant attire with the more homely garb of their predecessors at James II's Coronation in 1685. In 1821 Miss Fellowes was the Herb-woman, her six maids being the Misses Garth, Collier, Ramsbottom, Hill, Daniel and Walker. They were "very elegantly dressed in white muslin with flowered ornaments," and "appeared to have studied their parts most attentively." Miss Fellowes wore, in addition, "a scarlet mantle, trimmed with gold lace," and a gold badge, with the Royal Arms, suspended from her neck by a chain.

Such attractive young women, as these are shown to have been, must surely have gratified the gaze of a monarch who was eminently a connoisseur of feminine beauty.

I have already alluded to Nayler's famous record of this Coronation, some plates from which are reproduced in this book. Left incomplete by Nayler, it was re-issued in a more or less finished edition in 1839, after Queen Victoria had come to the Throne. This great work was important

enough, but a still more lavish memorial of "Prinney's" Coronation was attempted, which, could it have been finished in time, "would have been charged 2,000 guineas." This depicted the Procession, Ceremonial and Banquet in a series of 73 coloured drawings, "finished like enamels on velvet and white satin." In addition to the portraits being accurate, many of the coronets were actually furnished with small rubies, emeralds, pearls, and brilliants, "curiously set in gold by Hamlet."* Each of these plates is said to have cost fifty guineas at first hand.

Since an allusion, in Chapter XIV, to the temporary annexe erected outside the West front of Westminster Abbey may possibly convey the idea that this feature was peculiar to King Edward VII's Coronation, I propose to give some additional information on the subject. Temporary structures more or less of this nature are not a modern idea, as witness the wooden chapel erected by Wolsey in one night at

* *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, Vol. XXXII (1838).

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the Field of the Cloth of Gold. After the cessation of the Foot Procession from Westminster Hall to the Abbey, the provision of an annexe or vestibule to the Church became positively necessary. There, the Procession was formed, which had been hitherto marshalled in the Palace of Westminster. Annexes to the Abbey were built for the Coronations of King William IV, Queen Victoria, King Edward VII and King George V. The "Gothick" structure of William IV's day was afterwards sold to the proprietor of a suburban tea-garden. Tomkins, the well-known scene-painter, was called in to simulate the effect of masonry on the vestibule and screens of the nave for Victoria's Coronation; and, considering their temporary nature, the annexes at the inaugurations of Kings Edward VII and George V harmonized very well with their surroundings.

Coronation weather is always a burning topic as the great day approaches. No longer do we seriously deduce beneficent or contrary omens from the prevailing atmospheric conditions. To the public it is mainly a matter of seeing the lions in comfort or otherwise. According to *The Annual Register*, the morning of Queen Victoria's Coronation Day "dawned rather inauspiciously; a cold slight shower fell about eight o'clock, and seemed to bode threateningly; but, happily, it cleared off as the time for the starting of the procession [from Buckingham Palace] advanced; and

the sun shone on the ceremonial pomp throughout the day, only pleasantly veiled by a canopy of cloud."

Of the numerous incidents associated with Queen Victoria's Coronation, a few may be mentioned in passing. A flag staff, 80 feet high, was erected on top of the Marble Arch, which then stood before

Buckingham Palace.* From this staff was flown a Royal Standard, 30 feet long and 18 feet deep, of strongly wrought and very fine silk. It was manufactured (says *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*) by Mr. Mills of Cateaton Street, City, at a cost of nearly £200.

Among the numerous stands erected along the processional route were the seats round George III's statue in Cockspur Street, "the fierce horse-tail being sadly in the way of such accommodation."

Another famous statue which underwent "a strange metamorphosis" was that

of Charles I, by Hubert le Sueur, at Charing Cross. "Around the railing [since done away with] elevated seats were erected, covered by a dark-coloured pavilion-like roof or awning; peering over which might be seen part of the equestrian statue, but the prancing paw of the noble quadruped was invisible, and the royal martyr, viewed from the eastern approach, seemed as if swimming in a pool of black mud."

* The Marble Arch was removed thence in 1850, and re-erected at Tyburn in 1851.



Princess Victoria with her mother, the Duchess of Kent, who arrived for King George IV's Coronation at six o'clock in the morning.
(After Sir George Hayter, 1834.)

The Eve and the Day

One side-show, which attracted throngs of sightseers, was the roasting of a Coronation ox, at "a dining establishment in Bishopsgate." No fewer than 3,500 persons paid sixpence a head to view this spectacle during the 32 hours that it was in progress. The roasting was carried out at a coke fire, 20 feet high, and 10 feet in breadth. Two deer were similarly cooked.

Turning to a less surfeiting topic, *The Mirror* gives an interesting account of the state dresses worn by the 48 Royal Bargemen in Queen Victoria's procession. As hopes have been entertained that the Royal Barge may be accorded some prominence during King George VI's Coronation festivities, it may be of moment to summarize the passage in question. Though the dress of the Royal Bargemen is of a fashion earlier than Queen Victoria's time, the details then given are worth preservation. Made by Mr. Cooper, of Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, the habits were of scarlet cloth with the silver-gilt "V.R." button. The Royal Bargemen's badge of solid silver figured on breast and back, ensigned with a crown of solid silver-gilt, and having on each side the initials of the Royal Cypher in the same material. The badge in the centre consisted of the Royal Arms in dead silver, the Rose and the Thistle gilded, and the Shamrock in green enamel. Each badge weighed nearly 2 lb., so that each coat bore a load, with the Crown and Cypher, of more than 4 lb.

One might continue in this strain indefinitely, but chapters (like books) must make an end somewhere. Besides which, it will be more appropriate to deal with some other Coronation observances in a fresh section.

I should like, however, to mention here a broadsheet which I encountered while

researching for this book in the British Museum.

Preserved in the Print Room, under reference 1858-10-9-66, this effusion is entitled *The Gentleman King, A Song of Regret. Dedicated to the British Empire, by Wilmington Fleming.* (London. Printed for the Author, by E. Thomas, Denmark Court, Strand, and sold by all Booksellers.—Entered at Stationers' Hall, 1830.)

Beneath a woodcut of the Royal Arms are printed seven verses, the last of which is given below. As poetry, its limitations are obvious; but the idea behind it strikes me as being singularly applicable to the present time. To the writer of the verse, "The Gentleman King" was George IV, the "First Gentleman in Europe," then but recently gathered to his fathers. But millions to-day could accept the following lines as referring to that sad night of January 20, 1936, when a later King George drifted out of this life to a higher.

*A gallant successor now s'ts on his Throne,
And millions in duty caress him;
And 'tis but the tribute that worth claims
his own,
To aspire fondly—God bless him!
Still the sun of to-day shouln't make us
forget,
That 'neath yesterday's orb we could sing;
But the tinge of his ray gild our servency yet,
For he was—"A Gentleman King."*

Even as I write, one "gallant successor" has deemed it his duty to make place for another; but both had for Father that same fifth George whose loss they equally grieve.

Still, no mourning attire at a Coronation! That is a good, an old, an auspicious instruction. We bury the beloved in our hearts, as we turn with affectionate hope to the Sunrise.

CHAPTER XXXI

Coronation and the People

IN the past, the number of those who could witness a Coronation was necessarily limited. For the rest, the writer and the artist played an all-important part in recording or reconstructing the event. Then, in our own time, came photography, followed by its lively daughter, cinema, to render certain incidents speedily accessible to all and sundry. Now, if anticipatory reports be justified, we are entering upon another phase. Film, microphone and, maybe, the televisor, promise to bring Coronations within the immediate ken of an infinitely wider circle than before. A day will dawn when words like these will have a quaint, archaic ring; when things that have for us an air of novelty will seem as though they had ever been. What matters it! There was an age when metal was a new and interesting discovery . . .

What effect radio and television may exercise upon the Coronation ceremony cannot yet be gauged. Yet it seems probable that actual attendance at the service must remain a special boon for such as are privileged to witness it in person. For many centuries, folk have been more than willing to pay, and often handsomely, to obtain a view of their Monarch at the crowning-point of his or her existence.

Some old writers on Coronations entertain us with the fees paid for places at the Coronations of the Norman and early Angevin kings. They mention that a good place at William the Conqueror's inauguration, and possibly at that of the Red King, cost a *blank*. At Henry I's, it was a *crocard*; at Stephen's and Henry II's, a *pollard*; at

Richard *Cœur-de-Lion*'s and John's, a *suskin*; and a *dodkin* at Henry III's. These strange sounding denominations were of continental or base coins, often generically called *esterlin(g)s*, and eventually declared illegal in England. But *sterling* was the usual term for a penny under the Norman kings, and later, 1 lb. of sterlings was the origin of the £ sterling. In troy weight, an *esterlin* equalled 1 dwt. (*O.L.D.*)

At Edward Longshanks' Coronation a *Q* was given. This was the half of a farthing; while the farthing (or "four thing") itself was paid at Edward II's. (*Q*=quadrans.)

Before farthings were minted as separate coins, or when such were unavailable, they were easily obtained by cutting the thin, hammered penny into quarters; or into halves for halfpennies. It should be borne in mind that then, and for a long time afterwards, a penny was of silver, and worth a deal more than it is to-day. Failure to appreciate this point lends to many old items of account a ludicrous appearance unjustified by fact. To indicate comparative values would be to embark upon an intricate study irrelevant to this book. But to give a rough-and-ready indication—making no pretence at exactitude—the following hints may be employed: to the end of the 15th century, multiply the denomination by twenty; Elizabeth, multiply by ten; Queen Anne, by five. For scientific purposes, of course, these figures will not serve, as actual purchase equivalents must be taken into count.

At Edward III's Coronation one half-penny was a price for a place; but at Richard of Bordeaux's it was a penny, and at Henry

Coronation and the People

V's, half a groat or twopence. It is said, also, that the half groat was needed for Henry VI's to Henry VII's inaugurations. At Henry VIII's the groat was a price. The figure then remained more or less steady till Elizabeth's crowning, when a tester or testoon was paid. Introduced under Edward VI, this coin was equivalent to a shilling, but later deteriorated to the value of sixpence. Thereafter the increase in seating prices became fairly constant. We have one shilling under James I and Charles I; half a crown (Charles II and James II); crown (William and Mary, and Queen Anne). Many saw George I's Coronation for a crown likewise; though at that of George II, "some gave half-a-guinea, but that was thought vastly extravagant."

Figures were steadily rising. When George III was crowned, "front seats in the gallery of Westminster Abbey, were let at ten guineas each; and those in commodious houses along the procession, at no less prices."

Payment for seats in the Abbey has been done away with, but places "to view" the Procession are still articles of commerce.

For George III's "a one pair stairs room" overlooking the route was hired for no less than one hundred guineas. In ordinary houses the prices for places were from one to five guineas. One little house in Coronation Row cleared £700, after the scaffolding was paid for, and some large premises, upwards of £1,000.* Writing to Mann on September 28, 1761, Walpole grumbles at such "high-water-mark extravagance." Says he: "At the Coronation of George II my mother gave forty guineas for a dining-room, scaffold and bed-chamber. An exactly parallel apartment, only with rather a worse view, was this time [George III's Coronation] set at three hundred and fifty guineas."

"Coronation Theatres" or stands, containing from 1,200 to 1,500 seats, were erected. One of these, in Broad Sanctuary, cost its promoters three and a half guineas per foot for ground rent; one within the rails enclosing the Abbey, five guineas.

Walpole remarks that the "platform from St. Margaret's Round-house to the church-door, which formerly let for forty pounds," commanded £2,400 in 1761.

A story is preserved in *The Percy Anecdotes*, of a dutiful husband who took a room for his lady, at the rate of 140 guineas. But the date of the Coronation happening to coincide with that of an expected arrival, she "farther prevailed on her husband to let a skilful accoucheur, nurse, &c. attend her, and to hire an additional withdrawing room, lest the hurry of the day should accelerate an event which would render it impossible to remove her." Thus might business and pleasure be combined.

In years to come it will be interesting to compare bygone prices with those maintaining at the forthcoming Coronation. I write before the event; but as early as September, 1936, an advertisement in *The Times* offered a room capable of accommodating forty persons for a fee of £900.

That agreeable pseudonymous writer, "Giles Gossip, Esq.", gives a good impression of the stands erected overlooking the route of George IV's Coronation Procession between Westminster Hall and the Abbey. "The immense range of galleries in the fronts of houses in New Palace Yard, along the Exchequer Offices and Chambers, over the champion's stables, in Parliament Street and Square, in George Street, in St. Margaret's Churchyard, in the large spaces, on gardens and squares, between the Parliament House and Sessions House, it would be impossible to particularise. The magnitude of these accommodations, their uniformity and convenience, excited the wonder of the inhabitants of this great metropolis, and of thousands from all parts of the country, who repaired to town solely with the view of witnessing the preparations. All these gal-

* According to Richard Thomson's *Faithful Account* (1820): "It is generally understood that there is a clause in the leases of those houses which command a view of the Procession, stating that the possession of them shall revert back to the landlord for a certain period at a Coronation."

Coronation Cavalcade

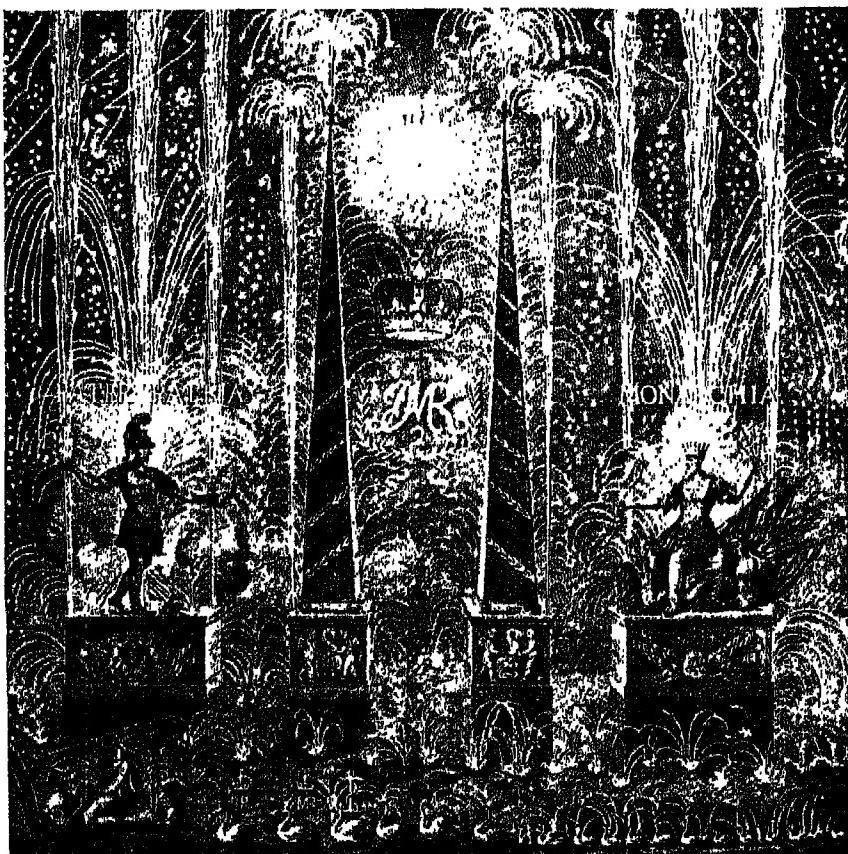
leties underwent the strictest investigation by surveyors appointed for the purpose; so that all possible precautions to prevent accidents were adopted."

The which precautions were necessary: when one thinks of the dangers to life and limb to which an over-weighted stand may lead. Often based on a tubular metal framework, the stands of to-day not only occupy less space with a greater seating capacity, but are more easily erected and demolished than the old-fashioned accommodations of beam and plank. But whether built of wood or metal, the modern stands, like those of George IV's day, are subject to critical inspection on the score of stability, so that untoward events are extremely rare.

Street illuminations and firework displays are no new thing. In old days one of the simplest and most effective forms of illumination was to place lights in all the windows. Even to-day some candles placed in a humble window convey a singularly honest and moving profession of loyalty and faith. From these to the "fairy lamps," each with a night-light burning fitfully within it, the more up-to-date electric installations aglow with bulbs of many colours, or even to Neon devices, is a progression of steps. Even so, festivities still evoke the rather old-fashioned, but quite impressive coats-of-arms and patriotic emblems made of countless faceted pebbles of glass in a metal framework: a sort of large

and heavy decoration that was in vogue for King Edward VII's Coronation, or Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. Some similar in style, and possibly in date, were "dug out" for King George V's Silver Jubilee in 1935—so soon to be followed by that beloved Monarch's passage to Valhalla.

For the 1935 celebrations, flood lighting was lavishly employed, as it will be, no doubt, for King George VI's Coronation. Never, to my way of thinking, as effective as spot lighting, flood illuminations tend to eradicate beautiful shadows and to give solid buildings a flimsily scenic effect. Such wholesale blazes are a new feature, though more or less



Firework displays as part of the popular celebrations attendant on a Coronation are by no means of modern origin. This highly elaborate piece, with allegorical figures in the Roman taste, enlivened proceedings on the River Thames when King James II was crowned in 1685.

(From Sandford's "History of the Coronation of James II," 1687.)

Coronation and the People



Street decorations for Coronation Processions of recent times have hardly been distinguished for either appropriateness or artistic merit, though marked improvements are to be noted in the co-ordinated designs for King George VI's processional routes. The "pylon-cum-banner" style appears none too favourably in this scene at St. George's Circus during King George V's State Procession through South London in 1911.

elaborate lighting devices were employed on occasion in the past. The same applies to pyrotechnic displays, as, for instance, the ambitious set piece, embodying allegorical figures, which was touched off on the Thames

over against Whitehall, when James II was crowned in 1685. That is to say, it should have been fired on that occasion, but owing to the "great Fatigue of the Day," was postponed until the following evening.

Coronation Cavalcade

I am not alone in believing that street decorations were more effective when good folk hung their gayest draperies out of window, and adorned the ways with symbolical pageantries. Carpets and tapestries made a brave display, as can be judged from an occasional recrudescence of the custom. Now and again some honest soul still flaunts a bedspread or counterpane in a manner unconsciously reminiscent of the past. Most to be deprecated of the average

member, is that the Royal Standard is not a public flag. Its proper use is solely by The King himself or under his direction. The arms marshalled upon it are those of the King of Great Britain and Ireland; his coat-armour and nobody else's. The heraldic achievements of Her Majesty Queen Mary and the Princes of the Blood are all differenced from it—even our Queen Elizabeth's.

A flag which any British subject may display as of right is that of the Union: an amalgamation of the respective crosses of England, Scotland and Ireland. There are numerous other flags which may be also flown by bodies or individuals with the correct qualifications, as, for example, those which are the proper pride of the Navies and Dominions, but to detail these is unnecessary. Suffice to remark that banners or ensigns incorporating the Union device *are not the same* as the Union Flag itself, and that, in the strictest sense, no flag should be displayed which cannot be shown as of right. The fairly prevalent notion that any sort—the gayer the better!—will serve, should be discouraged. There are, naturally, occasions when the populace desires to honour some particular flag by its

The Royal Standard is the King's own flag, only to be used by him or at his direction, and its unfurling over one or other of the Royal Palaces indicates that His Majesty is in residence there. A standard for the use of King George VI at Buckingham Palace is here seen in the course of production.

street decorations are the feeble heraldry of commerce and the "flags-of-all-nations" which too frequently disfigure our roads and houses at times of national rejoicing. Heraldry, if used at all, should be good heraldry; a sound design need cost no more, and is infinitely better than the paltry stuff too often seen. It is for the manufacturers to supply it. As to how far heraldry is permissible in the strictest sense is a different matter.

Another detail, which anyone can re-

general display, but such should be regulated in accordance with official pronouncement. Otherwise, if symbolism means anything, the exhibition of the Ruritanian banner indicates that those who show it are Ruritanian subjects. Let us leave the matter at that, with a mind to respect the significance of our out-of-window braveries.

Of recent years the tendency to co-ordinate public decorations has considerably increased. It is understood that careful



Coronation and the People

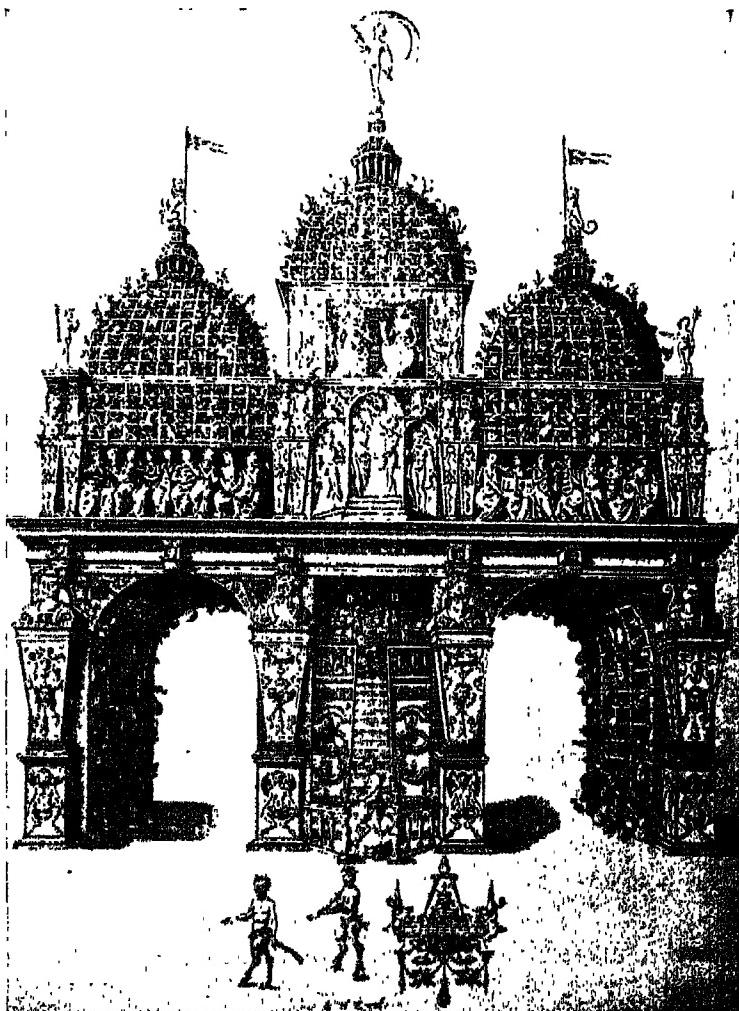
plans for ornamenting the streets of London and Westminster have been prepared by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott, Sir James Grey West, and Mr. G. Grey Worme against King George VI's Coronation.

Triumphal arches are not infrequently elaborate, and that our ancestors had definite ideas on this point can be seen by referring to David Loggan's plates in Ogilby's *Relation* of the preparations for Charles II's Coronation. The City of London then erected several at various points of the processional route, respectively typifying "The Return of Monarchy," "Loyalty Restored," "The Temple of Concord," and "The Garden of Plenty." All these were designed by Ogilby himself. Still more elaborate were the Seven Arches of Triumph erected when Charles' grandfather, the "British Solomon," came to his English crowning. Designed by Stephen Harrison, five of these were commenced in April, 1603, and were still in progress at the end of August, when work on them was suspended till the following February. Two more arches were then added to the number, and completed in six weeks.

It also became customary to erect a temporary triumphal arch within the north end of Westminster Hall. This arch varied in design. That at George III's Banquet was conceived by Oram in the Classic taste; that at George IV's by Hiort, in the "Gothick" of his day. (See illustrations, Pages 151, 154, 158, 159; and Frontispiece.)

Turning to small matters, much interest centres in the Coronation Medals specially struck for each inauguration. This custom,

which dates from the time of Edward VI, arose from the older practice of scattering *largesse* to the spectators in the Abbey itself and the guests at the Banquet. At William and Mary's Crowning 200 gold



One of the seven Triumphal Arches designed by Stephen Harrison for King James I's Coronation celebrations: it was erected in Cheapside.
(From an engraving by William Kip in Harrison's "The Arches of Triumph," 1604.)

medals were distributed; at Anne's, 300 gold and 1,200 silver, plus 518 in gold for the House of Commons, and 40 more for Foreign Ministers. (See illustration, Chapter I, page 12.)

Worthy of mention are the numerous unofficial *souvenirs*, medals, favours, and toys

Coronation Cavalcade

placed on the market by enterprising manufacturers. Such things as models of "St. Edward's Chair" and the State Coach command a ready sale, as do copies of the Anointing Spoon made in a variety of sizes. No item of the Regalia lends itself more readily to reproduction than this, though the "keel and disk" junction of the handle and



Among the many mementoes produced for the occasion are Coronation Mugs. Dame Laura Knight, R.A., is here seen with the one designed by her for presentation to five million school children as a souvenir of the crowning of King Edward VIII—a Coronation which never came to pass.

bowl is sometimes modified, doubtless to obviate technical difficulties.

Of interest, too, are Coronation Mugs and the like, bearing the Sovereign's portrait, so often to become familiar features of the home. A good many such mugs have been crude enough, but this is, and was, not always the case. Among other preparations for King Edward VIII's inauguration had been the commissioning of Dame Laura Knight to design a mug for distribution to school children at Coronationtide. Dame Laura is the first woman to become a full

member of the Royal Academy since Angelica Kauffman and Mary Moser joined the foundation in 1768.

Worth preserving as curiosities are the handkerchiefs printed with portraits and loyal emblems. These, the cousins of the "moral pocket-handkerchiefs" familiar to the youth of a previous age, or the fabrics bedight with "flags-of-all-nations" or portraits of Derby winners, seem secure in the popular favour.

Old Coronation broadsheets and panoramic views of the Procession are prized by collectors. A more than respectable ancestry can be claimed for such whimsies, and the panoramic device can be traced in engravings back to at least Burgkmair's *Triumph of Maximilian*, and in paintings to a much earlier date. Indeed the wall paintings and carvings of Ancient Egypt show a like way of dealing with processional motifs.

Not is there anything novel in the hasty acquisition of robes, coronets, or other titch attire. A study of old newspaper advertisements would yield numerous instances of such things being offered for sale or hire. Court-dress was sometimes freely interpreted

by the lesser fry, who got whatever they could or fancied from the costumiers. Dealing with George IV's Coronation, Huish amusingly records the antics of lawyers who turned out in Field Marshals' uniforms, tradesmen in canonicals, and effeminate coxcombs in the martial splendour of hussars. To say nothing of those who sported a sword on the wrong hip, or fell sprawling through tripping over what had become an unaccustomed accoutrement in civil life. At the least, such spectacles added to the general hilarity.

Coronation and the People

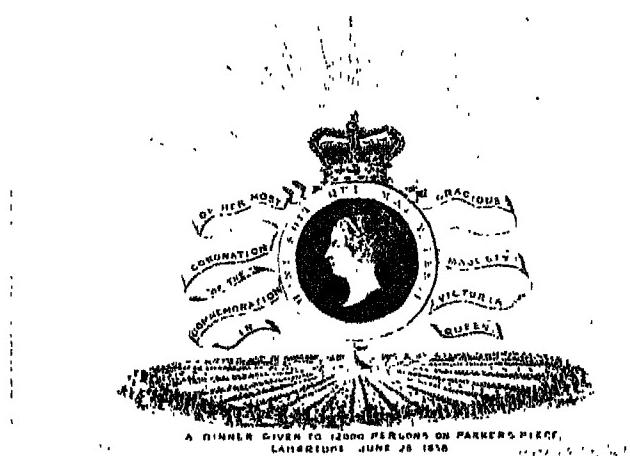
Public feastings have their own pictorial record. Among the more extensive of these celebrations was one held at Cambridge, on Queen Victoria's Coronation Day, June 28, 1838. This took the form of a dinner given to no less than 12,000 persons, on Parker's Piece. According to another account, 15,000 persons were seated, while the estimated number of onlookers was 17,000. My artist grandfather, Robert Roe, engraved a symbolical invitation card for the event. The original "copper" is in my possession. Beneath a crowned medallion bearing the young Queen's head is a glimpse of the tables, radiating from a central pavilion like the spokes of a wheel. A more detailed view was drawn and lithographed

by George Scharf. Other cities and towns held monster celebrations of a like order.

To say nothing of the reviews, regattas, and so forth that surround the event, Coronation Day is the signal for the planting of commemorative trees, for ox-roasting, the lighting of bonfires, and for feasting and revelry wherever the King's writ runs. In mansion and club, in cottage and tavern, "THE KING!" is the toast of the moment.

*"And he that will not drink his health,
I wish him neither wit nor wealth,
Nor yet a rope to hang himself, . . ."*

Those lines have come down from the 17th century, and their spirit is vital and keen.



Invitation Card to a dinner given to 12,000 persons on Parker's Piece, Cambridge, in celebration of Queen Victoria's Coronation, June 28, 1838.

(From the engraving by Robert Roe.)

CHAPTER XXXII

King George VI and Queen Elizabeth

ST. GEORGE for Merry England, and the Empire for King George! In electing to be proclaimed as King George VI, His Majesty divined an unspoken wish of every loyal subject.

Before he became King, we knew him as Albert, Duke of York. Many of Queen Victoria's descendants have been so baptized. But, distinguished as are its associations, there is a tradition against the use of that name by a monarch of these realms. Some say that King Edward VII set the pace by choosing to be so styled, instead of Albert I. I remember that story circulating at the time of his accession. There is, however, an alternative version of the tale, which has it that Queen Victoria loved her Consort's memory too well to wish his name to be borne by any future Sovereign. Such an idea—of expressing respect by placing a taboo upon an appellative—is comparable to one found among primitive peoples. As a tradition in England, it is, I imagine, rare enough to be of singular interest.

One thing is certain. In reigning as the latest of the Georges, His Majesty utilizes the most appropriate of all the honoured names he bears. Albert Frederick Arthur George: one alone of these possesses a sovereign connotation for his subjects. We have never had a King Albert or a King Frederick. Do not try to catch me out by mentioning "King" Arthur. That legendary hero was never a king in the sense we understand it; still less was he a King of England. Though Albert, Frederick, Arthur have been borne by various members of the Royal Family at different times, and Arthur is nobly connected with the

Connaught branch, it is George that has a definitely regal ring for us.

You may reply that everything must have a beginning. True enough! But King George VI's accession was scarcely a proper moment for experimenting. A brief reign of singular promise had been abruptly and all too sadly brought to a close. Moreover, when one considers the matter, there was excellent cause for "George" to enter our history when it did.

King George I had but two names from which to make his choice. Baptismally George Lewis, he would have been rash to come to us as our King Lewis I. In 1714 Louis XIV, *le roi soleil*, was waxing old upon the throne of France. Not much more than a year before, we had concluded a treaty of peace with him, and the taste of many old wars was in our mouths. Still was our King nominally the King of France also. So ran his official style. Two Kings Lewis—for the French monarch's name was generally thus spelled in England at the time—both asserting their sovereignty of France would have been overmuch for the welfare of the peace. It was a name we had but little liking for; and so, on all accounts, we had King George. To anyone save a Jacobite that name was tolerable, if unfamiliar.

Now, George II was christened George Augustus, but shrewdly kept to the style his father bore. When the son succeeded, it had been a household word for thirteen years—and that is something. The Jacobites toasted their "King over the water," and spoke of his "supplanter" as the Elector of Hanover. Electors the Georges were;



Photo: Vandyk.

GEORGE VI, King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India. Following King William IV and King George V, His Majesty is the third of Britain's Sailor Kings. He became a midshipman in 1913, served at the Battle of Jutland, rose later to Rear-Admiral (as which he is seen above), and, on his accession to the Throne in 1936, assumed the rank of Admiral of the Fleet.

King George the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth

but Kings of Great Britain also. Their right to the loftier dignity was every whit as sound as is King George VI's to-day.

The Jacobites were no weaklings. They bit shrewdly more than once. In the 'Forty-five, Bonnie Prince Charlie trounced Johnnie Cope at Prestonpans, and led his army as far south as Derby. Then, instead of pressing on to London—wavered. The hesitation was not his own, but that of some followers who were strong enough to overrule him.

Retreat. Another victory for the Prince at Falkirk; and then his complete defeat by Cumberland at Culloden. A brave man, Prince Charles Edward, debonair and valiant; and aided in his memorable flight by some of the most gallant souls in history. Yet we must bear in mind that honour and bravery were by no means limited to his side in the conflict.

Jacobitism was not slain by this disaster to its arms. It lingered gamely on, till it could live no longer. There dawned a day when there was nothing left to plot for save a memory. From being a creed, Legitimism became a sentiment. All credit to its honesty!

But I have said, and say again, that the House of Hanover was rightfully established. And had the second George's eldest son but lived some ten years longer, we might have known a King Frederick. For the Prince of Wales was christened Frederick Lewis—and not George at all. One is tempted to say that Fate demanded a George.

Thus it was that George II's grandson came to the Throne; and George William Frederick took the style of George III. It was by now the distinctive signature of the Dynasty. With nearly the half of a century of rule behind it, "George" had become an institution. The Jacobites might talk of Bonnie Prince Charlie's bravery; but the Georges were no cravens. The Prince's exploits in the 'Forty-five could be offset by King George II's at Dettingen in 'Forty-three. Nor was that all.

George III reigned over us, if partly by

a Regency, for nigh upon sixty years. When he passed, the name had been in vogue for over a hundred years. For his eldest son to succeed as George IV was obvious.

Now, "Prinney" is an interesting figure, and, in some respects, an outstanding one. Because of his lapses he has suffered more than his due share of obloquy. Nevertheless, when the "First Gentleman in Europe" was carried to his tomb at Windsor, the name of George had lapsed into strong distaste with the unco' guid. It was reckoned a blessing that there was nobody near enough to the Throne to keep the style in regal evidence.

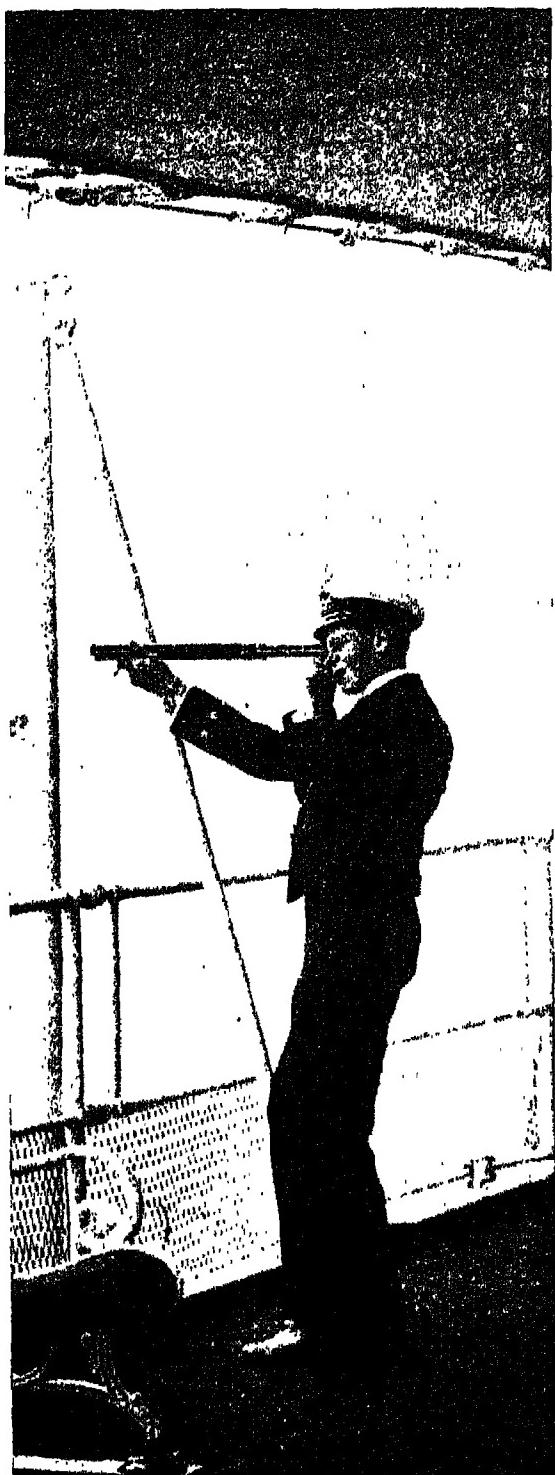
Ridiculous as it now seems, I myself can remember hearing a doubt expressed as to whether King George V (then Prince of Wales) would be wise in adopting that name when he came to rulership. *As much was whispered here and there between seventy and eighty years after George IV's decease.* I conceive that certain matters in Thackeray's account of *The Four Georges* were partly responsible for this opinion. That it was groundless was to be proved by one man's sterling character; one Monarch and his Consort, King George V and Queen Mary.

For just over twenty-five years this beneficent reign extended, culminating in the most glorious tribute of affection and respect from all their subjects.

Wherefore, when it fell to Their Majesties' second son to become both King and Emperor, he rightly did so as King George VI. No other choice was possible.

I confess that I like to watch the numbering mounting up. There is a subtle satisfaction in seeing the old designations perpetuated. "George" is now one of the most used names upon our table of Kings. There have been eight Henrys and eight Edwards—unless one counts in Edward the Elder, the Martyr, and the Confessor, in which case there were eleven of that style. To these, "George" is much the doughtiest competitor, with "William" as a bad second. There are continental dignities which have run to much higher nominal totals; but

Coronation Cavalcade



King George VI's association with the Royal Navy is of long standing: he is here seen on the occasion of his Father's review of the Fleet at Spithead in 1914.

that is their affair—or was, as the case may be.

King George VI was born at York Cottage, Sandringham, on December 14, 1895. That is enough to reckon him an East Anglian, if, indeed, a King may "have a county" in that sense. Like the rest of his Family, he was bred in a fine tradition of service. Though not robust as a youngster, he entered the Navy, and had the privilege of seeing active service at the Battle of Jutland. Later attached to the Royal Air Force, he saw active service with it also, becoming a practical pilot. Later still, he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, thus further adding to the sum of his experience.

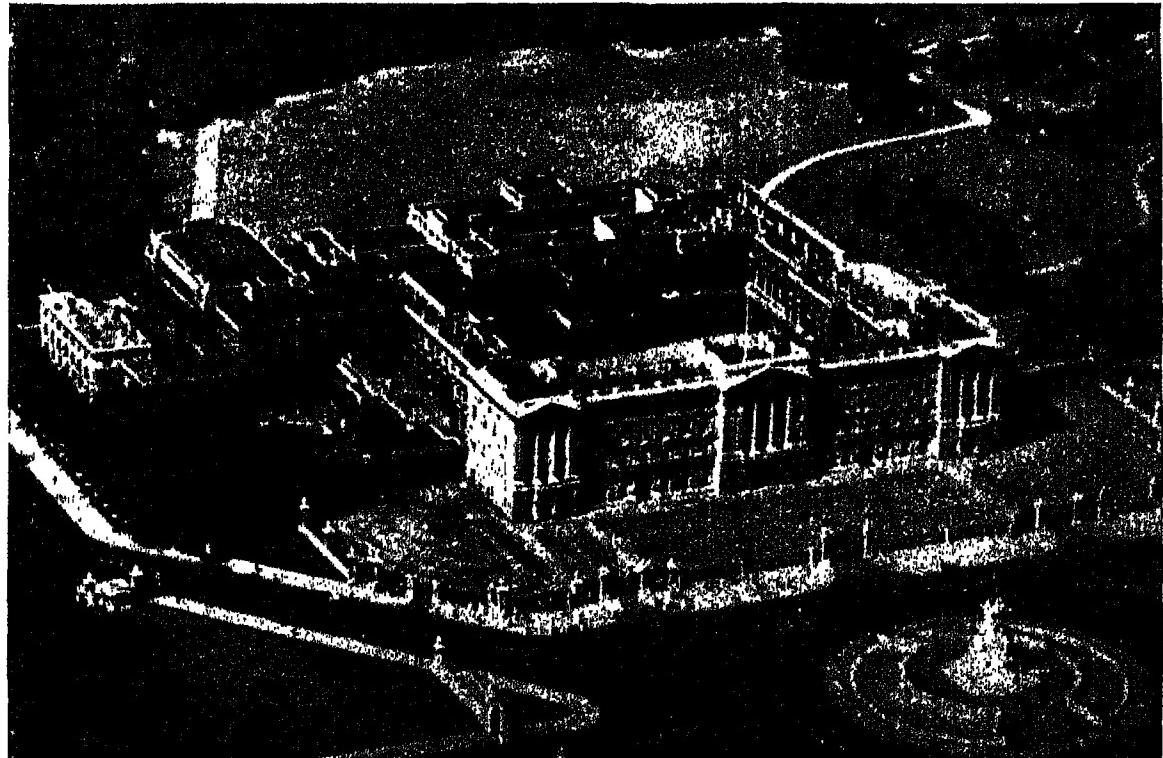
Meanwhile, in 1916—the same year as Jutland—our now King had been created a Knight of the Garter, while in 1920 he received the title of Duke of York. Exclusively associated with the Royal Family, the Dukedom of York has been held by many famous figures since it was first bestowed by Edward III on his fifth son, Edmund of Langley, in 1385.

Upon King George V's death in January, 1936, the latest of these Dukes became Heir-Presumptive to the Throne, which, owing to King Edward VIII's abdication in the following December, he was so soon and unexpectedly to occupy. He let it be known that this occasion involved for him a time of personal sorrow; his record is that of one who has ever a thought for the welfare of others.

Here we must interrupt the story for a retrospect. Never a "showy" Prince in any histrionic sense, The Duke of York (as he was then) already had a fine career of service in the public weal. But in 1923 a romantic event brought him very much into the forefront of affairs. On April 26 in that year he led to the Altar of Westminster Abbey the lady whom we enthusiastically greet as Queen Elizabeth—Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon, youngest daughter of the 14th Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorne. All are agreed that this was purely a love-



Photo : W. F. Taylor.



ROYAL HOMES IN TOWN AND COUNTRY

Buckingham Palace—The King's London residence—started in 1703 and subsequently altered and enlarged, and (top) York Cottage in the grounds of Sandringham House, Norfolk, where His Majesty was born.

Photo: Bassano, Ltd.

THE

KING AND QUEEN ON THEIR WEDDING DAY
On April 26, 1923, King George VI—then Duke of York—married Lady Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon. The Royal Pair are seen here with King George V and Queen Mary (right) and the Earl and Countess of Strathmore (left), at Buckingham Palace after the ceremony.



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match, the which is borne out in a hundred happy ways.

The nation cheered with unforced joy, as well it might. Here was a marriage once more uniting the ancient lines of England and Scotland; uniting them not merely formally and for convenience, but as everyone who loves a lover could desire. It was almost as though we had some prescience of what that marriage was eventually to mean to us.

What of The Duchess, now Her Most Gracious Majesty The Queen? I might have written of her, as I wished to do, in the chapter called *Her Majesty!* But it seemed so much more fitting not to separate this noble Lady from her Royal Spouse and Children by even the arbitrary space of pages. Her two Daughters, H.R.H. The Princess Elizabeth and H.R.H. The Princess Margaret Rose, bear names which, historically speaking, we must always remember very proudly. In pronouncing them we can but look back to one of the greatest of our Monarchs, another Queen Elizabeth, and to the sainted Margaret of the Royal House of Cerdic.

Two charming little girls in all the joy of childhood's adventure! And in their veins the distillation of centuries of high



Photo: Bertram Park.

Daughter of a noble and ancient house and bearer of a name glorious in national history
—Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

tradition and endeavour. There is royal stock in both lines of their ancestry. The oft-told tale of how that came to pass is worth repeating.

You have heard how the Royal Stewarts came by their name? How they were Great Stewards of Scotland before one of them became the Scots King Robert II. In Robert ran the blood of the Bruce, for

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his mother was the firstborn of the victor of Bannockburn.

When Robert II died at Dundonald in 1390, his eldest son followed him as Robert III. From him King George VI is directly descended through Mary, Queen of Scots.

Now, among Robert II's collection of daughters was a thrice-married lady called Jean. She is ancestress of our present Queen Elizabeth, King George VI's Consort. For Jean Stewart—or Keith, as she was at the time—wedded Sir John Lyon, the Chamberlain, who begat the line of Strathmore. There are few enough families who live on the spot where their forebears dwelt in the 14th century. Strathmore sits now where Sir John Lyon held sway, and in him is the blood of the Scots princess. Match the Lyon coat-armour with that of the Scottish Kings; there is naught between them save a difference of colour and metal.

I speak of the Lyon coat, not of the quartering of Bowes. That came to the family through a rich 18th century marriage. At Barnard Castle there is the Bowes Museum, founded by one of the same stock as the lady whom the 9th Earl of Strathmore espoused. A good Durham family, Bowes of Streatlam Castle, whose knightly ancestors had been there in the Middle Ages. The place was more than once rebuilt, and it was a mansion of early 18th century fashion which came to the Strathmores by the 9th Earl's marriage with Mary Bowes. But their eldest son, the 10th Earl, had no issue. Like Glamis itself, his carldom went to a brother, but the estates of Streatlam Castle and Gibside Park he willed back to the Bowes. You may have noticed their coat of arms; it figures as a quartering in Her Majesty's shield. The three bows on an ermine field make a pretty piece of canting (which means punning) heraldry.

In view of all this it was an obvious gesture for the 10th Earl of Strathmore to take the title of Lord Bowes of Streatlam Castle when he received a peerage of the

United Kingdom. That barony died with him, but a later barony of Bowes is still numbered with the lesser of the Strathmore dignities. The Scottish titles of the Lyons are much older. In the 15th century the original Sir John Lyon's grandson became the 1st Lord Glamis; the 9th Lord, 1st Earl of Kinghorne; the 3rd Earl was restyled Strathmore and Kinghorne, with certain minor honours into the bargain. But the highest distinction of all may be fairly reckoned as that which called a daughter of the house to be our Queen.

Haunted Glamis! Its fortunes may have waxed and waned, and waxed again, but ever it remains the typical Scottish castle of romance. That Glamis has altered somewhat since William Beattie published his account of it in 1838; that it has since revived its ancient memories of a royal ancestress by producing a Royal Consort, cannot efface the picture which the worthy doctor left to us.

"Glancing at the valley of Strathmore," he wrote, "the first objects that arrest attention are the dramatic scene of Dunsinna-hill, and Glamis Castle. The latter, in point of antiquity and historical interest, is one of the most remarkable structures in the kingdom. Although much dilapidated and dimmed in its original splendour,* its feudal air of strength and haughty defiance, and its sullen gloom of seclusion in an antique forest, render it a subject peculiarly adapted for the pencil, and for exciting the imagination of the poet. We shall not detain the reader with the recent changes that have altered, but not detracted, from the dignity of this stately fortalice, but the following account will show what

* [I emphasize that this is in the past, and does not allude to the present state of Glamis. Furthermore, that I have not interfered with the old-fashioned spellings of names like "Glamis" or "Vandyk." The quotations are from William Beattie, M.D.: *Scotland*, Vol. II. (MDCCXXXVIII), where there is also an excellent plate of Glamis Castle, engraved by W. Tombleson, after T. Allom.—F. G. R.]



AT THE PORTAL OF HISTORIC GLAMIS

Queen Elizabeth has paid frequent visits to her Scottish family home and it was here that Princess Margaret Rose was born in 1930.

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it was a century ago. 'Entering Strathmore,' says an anonymous traveller, 'we arrived at the palace of Glammis, belonging to Lyon, earl of Strathmore, which, by its many turrets and gilded balustrades at the top, struck us with awe and admiration. It stands in the middle of a well-planted park, with avenues branching off in all directions from the house. The great avenue—thickly planted on each side, and entered by a massive gate-way, with offices of freestone on each side, like a little town—leads through a space of half a mile to the outer court, within which are statues as large as life. On the great gate of the inner court, are balustrades of stone, finely adorned with statues; and in the court,

four colossal statues—one of James VI. in his stole, another of Charles I., as he is usually painted by Vandyk. From this court we have a full prospect of the gardens on each side, cut into grass-plots, and adorned with evergreens. The house is the highest we have ever seen, consisting of a lofty tower in the middle, with two wings, and a tower at each end—the whole above two hundred feet broad. The stairs, from the entrance hall to the top of the house, consist of one hundred and forty-three steps, of which those of the great staircase, where five people can mount abreast, are eighty-six, each step of a single block. In the first floor are thirty-eight rooms with fire-places; the hall is adorned with family pictures, and behind this is a handsome chapel, with an organ. On the altar is a fine painting of the "Last Supper," and on the ceiling an "Ascension," by De Wit, a Dutchman, whom Earl Patrick* brought from Holland, and who painted the ceilings of most of the rooms. In the drawing-room next to the hall is an excellent portrait of Queen Mary, of Medina [sic], the "Pretender's" mother, with several others of the principal Scottish nobility; and over the chimney, a curious Italian scripture piece. When the Pretender was here on a visit, besides the state chamber, eighty-eight beds were made up for his retinue, besides the servants, who were lodged in the offices out of doors."

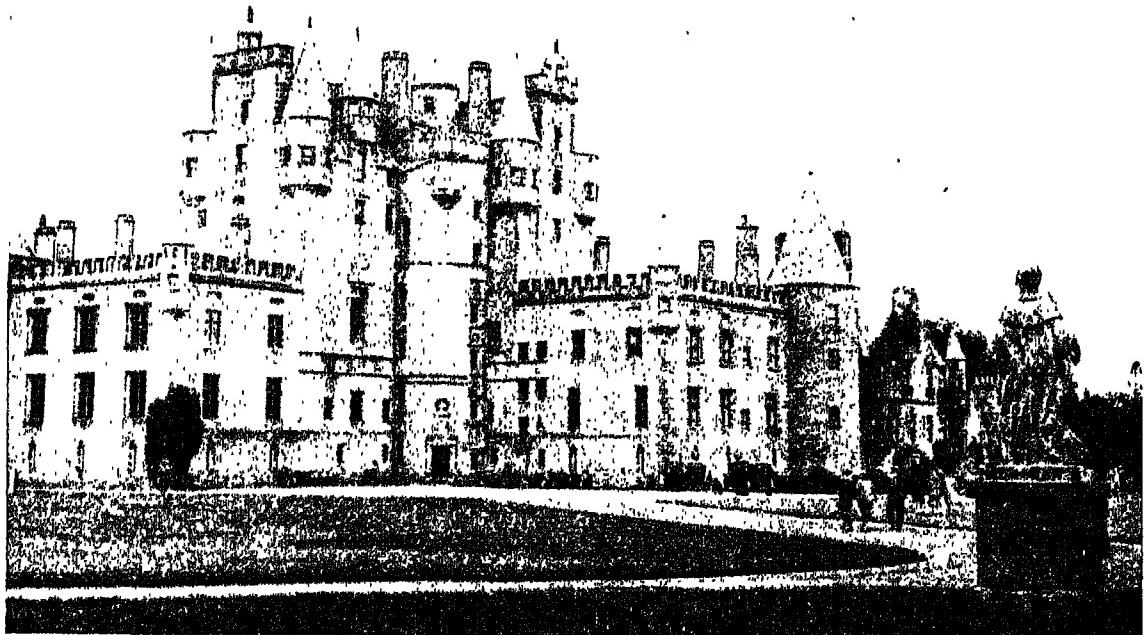
With that, Dr. Beattie closes his quotation, and proceeds:

* [This was Patrick Lyon, 3rd Earl of Kinghorne, who added Strathmore to his title. He died in 1695. From him Queen Elizabeth is directly descended.]



Hair to the British Throne—Princess Elizabeth, with her sister, Princess Margaret Rose: Inheritors of mighty traditions.

King George the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth



Glamis Castle, the Forfarshire seat of the Strathmore family, is mainly of 17th century date, but it incorporates parts of a much older structure from which emanates many a strange legend.

"On the Hunters' Hill, an eminence which overlooks Glamis, Malcolm II. is said to have been attacked by assassins; and tradition still points out the chamber in the castle where the unfortunate monarch died of his wounds."

For the link between Macbeth and Glamis, we have but to re-read our Shakespeare, though we need not regard his inspired verse as strictly documentary. And legend has been at work in respect of a "sword and shirt of mail worn by Macbeth," which somehow found their way to the castle armoury.

Strangely enough, though alluding to these, Beattie made no reference to certain other matters which have aroused a deal of speculation. Take, for example, the "Lion Cup" from which Scott borrowed the notion of that remarkable "Luck," the "Bear of Bradwardine," for *Waverley*. Scott himself had "had the honour of swallowing the

contents of the Lion." He described the Glamis cup as "a massive beaker of silver, double gilt, moulded into the shape of a lion, and holding about an English pint of wine. The form alludes to the family name of Strathmore, . . . and, when exhibited, the cup must necessarily be emptied to the Earl's health."

Failure to down the full contents of the "Lion" would have been reckoned as showing a lack of courtesy to one's distinguished host.

But there is another tradition connected with the ancient Forfarshire castle, of higher renown than that.

What is the fabled mystery of Glamis? I do not refer to grim "Earl Beardie's" phantom, or to other tales which are good to tell on a winter's night. Glamis is alive with story, with whispers from the past; but the most enthralling of its grave traditions attracts us by its *silence*.

Coronation Cavalcade



The King at Southwold with schoolboys of the annual holiday camp which is one of His Majesty's best-known social activities.



Always an enthusiastic follower of sport, The King is here seen playing polo at Ranelagh.

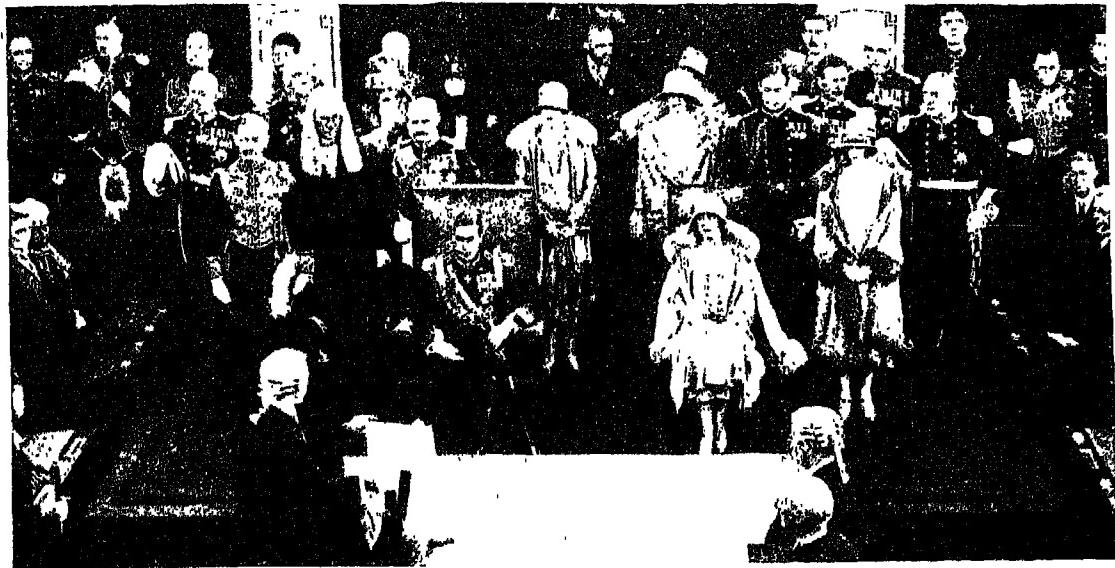
Everyone has heard of Glamis's secret; none, save a very few, has understood it. Of those admitted to the mystery, not one has ever been known to betray his trust.

Custom has decreed that on the night of the heir's coming of age, he should quit the assembly and be taken by Strathmore and the factor to some hidden room in the castle, which none but they may ever enter.*

Writers have plied their imaginative powers in attempting to decide what happens next. What is Glamis's secret? Some mummified horror; grisly relics of the past; something dread, that never dies?

* [I allude here to an Earl of Strathmore, the heir of his body (Lord Glamis), and the factor. But the heir has not invariably been a son. I gather from *Lord Halifax's Ghost Book*, that on the death of the childless 12th Earl of Strathmore, in 1865, his brother, the 13th Earl, was inducted to the secret by "the lawyer and the agent." Furthermore, that the 14th Earl, Her Majesty's Father, "refused to be enlightened" when he came of age. The account in *Lord Halifax's Ghost Book* was given by Mrs. MacLagan, wife of the Archbishop of York of that name. Perhaps I should mention that allusions to Glamis, *tout court*, in the present chapter, refer to the castle, and not to Lord Glamis.]

King George the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth



On May 9, 1927, The King—as Duke of York—opened the Federal Parliament of Australia in the handsome new buildings at Canberra.

Or merely, as the practical-minded have suggested, some family papers dealing with bygone political enterprises, the vital significance of which has long since lapsed? Such is the attitude adopted by Charles G. Harper in his ever readable *Hunted Houses*, though, as he truly adds, the deduction does not "meet and controvert the tales of magic and terror at all points."

We can guess as much as we like. No heir has ever told; nor would one expect a man of honour to betray a family sanctity of this sort.

Whatever be Glamis's secret, we are entitled to believe one thing about it. There is nothing here to affect the peace of those who do not know it.

To her Royal Husband, Queen Elizabeth has always been a lucky star. Clever, shrewd, and kindly, Her Majesty held the affection of her future subjects from the moment of her entry into public life. Her happy smile at once became proverbial. She shares with The King an abiding popularity.

In all the phases of their life together, our King and Queen have shown them-



Queen Elizabeth enjoying a fishing expedition at Tokaanu during her visit to New Zealand in 1927.



Photo: Studio Lisa.

THE ROYAL FAMILY AT HOME

From the book by Michael Chance: published by John Murray.
This charming and intimate glimpse of King George and Queen Elizabeth with their daughters—and dogs—in the beautiful gardens of Royal Lodge, Windsor, reveals the happy atmosphere so characteristic of their domestic relations.

King George the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth

selves eager for the welfare of the Empire. During their tour in 1927, when they visited Australia and New Zealand and opened the stately Federal Parliament House at Canberra, they revealed their fitness to assume the regal power. And, passing over numerous other activities too recent in our memories for repetition, it is very noteworthy how The King's love of sport has done a deal to consolidate him in the hearts of a nation to which sportsmanship means much. Golf, tennis, polo and the hunt have all claimed him for their own. Whether sharing the informalities of holiday camps, or concentrating on graver matters affecting the public health and weal, King George VI is, by common consent, the "best of good fellows." And in all her public relations, Queen Elizabeth evinces the unmistakable sincerity of one who never spares herself when there is anything to be done.

Among the immediate results of King George VI's accession has been a revival of interest in Sandringham House. If not one of the older Royal residences, this possesses intimate associations with our Reigning Dynasty. Built when King Edward VII was Prince of Wales, with York Cottage as a subsidiary dwelling, it was designed in an adaptation of the Elizabethan manner. After King George V died at the House on the night of January 20, 1936, it seemed as if Sandringham might be relegated to a less important position as a Royal *pied à terre*. A native of Surrey, King Edward VIII (since created Duke of Windsor) felt stronger affinities with the

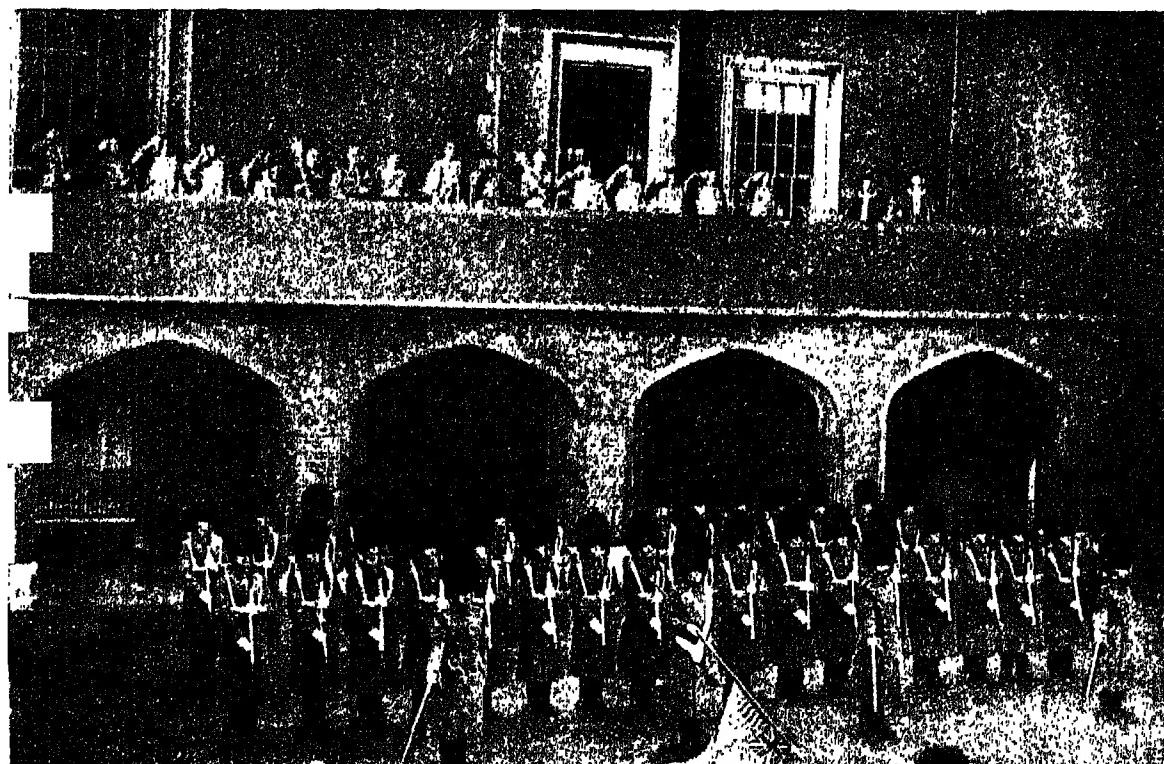


Photo: J. Dixop-Scott.

The romantic outline of Windsor Castle—most famous of all Britain's Royal Palaces—seen across the Home Park from the banks of the River Thames.

Home Counties; but King George VI, East Anglian by birth, elected to spend his first Christmas as Monarch in his Norfolk home. It is stated, also, that he restored "Sandringham time"—that practice of keeping timepieces half an hour fast, inaugurated by King Edward VII and maintained until King George V passed to his rest. The

Coronation Cavalcade



The proclamation of King George VI at St. James's Palace on December 12, 1936. (Left) His Majesty leaving 145 Piccadilly to attend the Accession Council meeting.



basic idea, of course, is simply that of promoting punctuality, though, in the course of years, the custom has come to be regarded with a certain degree of respect on its own account.

Royal Lodge in Windsor Great Park, which had been much in the public eye about the time when King George VI ascended the Throne, is an older structure than Sandringham. That is to say, it has a royal history from 1812, when Nash commenced transforming a cottage, which formerly occupied the site, for the use of the Prince Regent (George IV). "Now," says John Summerson in his excellent book on *John Nash* (1935), "the whole of Nash's cottage has disappeared," though the present structure contains a "Gothick" saloon which may be the work of Wyatville, who made Windsor Castle what it is.

Of the Royal Palaces now in personal use

King George the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth

by King George VI, Queen Elizabeth, and Their Family, Windsor Castle embodies the oldest fabric, though much altered from time to time, and notably under King George IV. If Glamis be historic, still more so is Windsor, nor does it need a Harrison Ainsworth to remind us of its romantic history, and to weave a tale around the ghostly legend of Herne the Hunter.

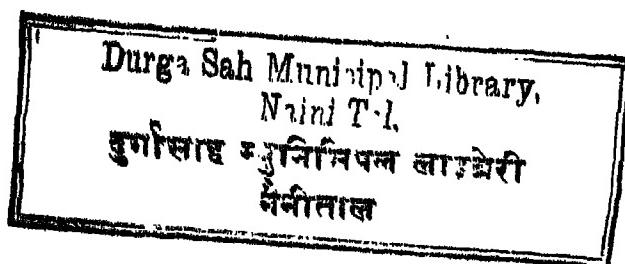
Windsor has for us an outstanding interest as a mediæval pile, formerly one of the greatest strongholds in the country, and still the most imposing palace of the Royal Family. That it has given its name to the Dynasty proves that it is still in sooth a piece with living history. Beside it, stately Buckingham Palace is an infant; St. James's, the fruit of a Tudor yesterday. Historic though these be—and deeply so—it was to his Castle of Windsor, his most ancient country seat, that King George V turned when seeking a new surname. With the Tower of London a fortress and a museum; Hampton Court in part a picture gallery; the Palace of Westminster given over, in the

main, to Parliament, there could be no manner of doubt as to the wisdom of the choice. It was the most significant, most distinctive, and, one might add, the most affectionate. When to-day King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visit Windsor, they are as much at home in their own, personal castle as any Lord and Lady of old time.

Somewhere locked in the stony embrace of Glamis there rests an old, dead secret; but the secret of Windsor lives in the hearts of the Royal House which bears that name.

Born in the purple, yet not aloof from the humanities; dignified, not coldly statuesque; generous, kindly, sympathetic—therein lies the talisman of the Race of Windsor.

And so—Coronation Cavalcade, both visible and invisible! Somehow I fancy that we cannot see all who move in that stately progress. King after King, Queen after Queen, converging from out the past on that holy spot in the Abbey Church where the latest of their Representatives receive the Crowns.



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THE following is not a full list of all sources consulted by me in connection with this book. Much less does it pretend to be a complete bibliography of the literature on Coronations. That would require a volume to itself.

My purpose in compiling a Select Bibliography is partly to acknowledge indebtedness and partly that those who wish to read more on this or that aspect may have an idea where to commence their studies. With few exceptions the books cited are easily accessible. I have added some articles from periodicals, and occasional annotations.

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